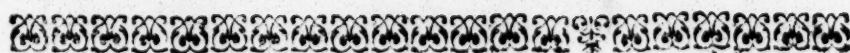




The *Misère*.



PANTOGRAPH

ESSAYS

Part I

THE

PRINCIPLES

OF

THE

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OF

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THE

ART

PANEGYRICAL
ESSAYS

Upon the PRAYER

Lord, Pity the People;

The Only Words of


WILLIAM I.

Prince of Orange,

The Founder of the Government of the
United Provinces, at his sudden and violent
Death, 10th July 1584.

Transform'd into the Order they are now in, *Anno*
1714, upon his Majesty's Accession to the Crown.

Omnis Ævi ac Memorix clarissimus Princeps --- A late Writer.

That is, as will appear,
Of all  Characters, ancient and modern,
One of the greatest, say his Enemies,
And one of the best too, say his Friends.

— *Simul cum vulnere mors* —

— *Novissima tantum efflatus verba,*

Deus Miserere afflicti Populi.

Reidanus.

Una ad Deum morientis vox, Miserere Populi.

Grotius.

Miserere Deus hujus Populi.

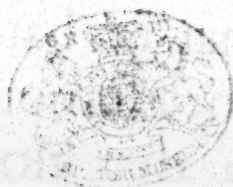
Huber.

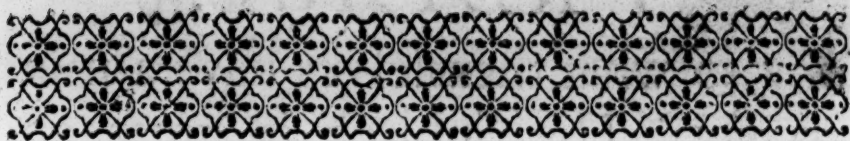
L O N D O N:

Printed by W. HUNTER, in *Jewen-street*. 1717.

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P R E F A C E.

MY Friend, the Writer, is resolv'd, if ever he finish the History of Prince *William's* Life, to do it according to Rules, to the best of his Understanding. But in these Essays, he observes none: not that he barely writes, to indulge present Humour, and please himself; tho' that alone may be as good a Reason for him to write, as it is for others to read. But he has a Purpose, or Purposes, and a Plan suitable to them, which does not admit of Rules: nay, engages him not to observe them in the treating of his Subject, which he seems to me to make use of, as many do of their Texts, to give Weight and Authority

A 3

PREFACE.

rity to what themselves have a mind to say. His Subject is great and noble, is tender and affecting; is full of the Extraordinary and Incredible, the *Merveilleux*, as the *French* call it. Thus to be, as it is, all over serious, which renders it also instructive, nothing can be more entertaining: For it engages, moves, and surprizes; and, by doing so, raises and maintains those Impressions and Dispositions, which my Friend has occasion for, to compass his Purposes.

Thus, when he leaves his way, or breaks off the Thread of his Discourse, which he does often, it is then that he is doing his Business; which being done, he returns to his way again: and indeed never goes so far out of it, as not to keep in view the Place he is going to. His Purposes will appear more and more, as he goes on. In a word, he pleases him-

PREFACE.

himself with his own No-manner, or want of Method. I wish others may be pleas'd with it too.

As to the Language, he pretends only to make it significant and intelligible. His Constitution has never allow'd him so much Application as was necessary for such a Knowledge, even of Things, as he coveted; and yet less for the study of Words. It was his Misfortune too, to study other Languages, when he should have study'd his own; so that his Errors are often bad Translations; or if they be originally his own, he has yet a more plausible Apology to make for them.

He acknowledges the Pedantry, against all Rules, antient and modern, of using *Latin*, &c. but he thinks more is got than lost by it, if us'd with Judgment: and therefore he would have even that bad Custom reviv'd, to banish Ignorance; as he would have Punning, which is but a

PREFACE.

foolish tho' harmless Amusement, brought in Fashion again, to drive out Bantering, that's a cover for Lying, and all sort of Deceit in Conversation, since fashionable Follies of one sort or other we must have. Ladies, and such others, as have no Occasion for Greek and Latin, may pass over the Crochets; the Sense is entire without them. But as for Gentlemen, the Design seems to be to expose them, by making them mumble the Thistle; that at least they may give such Education to their Children, as to render them, by the early Impressions they take from such Books, incapable of acting against their Country, without acting against their own Minds, without being [*αὐτοκατακριτοί*] self condemn'd, as the Apostle speaks of Hereticks; and which should be understood of all Men, when judg'd and condemn'd by others; for if they knew not
what

PREFACE.

what they were doing, they deserve rather Pity or Pardon, the Plea of one, greater than he, for them.

He is sensible too, of the disadvantages he himself is under, in these Essays, and the trouble his Readers will be put to, by his not publishing first Prince *William's* Life and Character; but he could not well help this: And supposing he could, he has Reasons for not doing it, that seem to him more than sufficient to ballance the Inconveniences of the Method he has taken: For a regular Account of his Life and Character, publish'd in the first place, would have been inconsistent with such an irregular Repetition of them, as his Plan and Purposes in these Discourses require: Whereas the Publishing of them after, is liable to no Objections: And in the mean while, the printed Accounts of this Prince's Life; tho'
'tis

PREFACE.

'tis own'd they are very superficial and unsatisfactory, may serve to furnish a Series of Times and Facts.

He owns too, that the giving of Proofs is unusual in Panegyrick, which should proceed upon Facts evident and own'd, and not doubtful so as to need Proofs; but he has call'd these Discourses Panegyricks, because they come nearer to the Nature of them, than to that of any other kind of Writing; not that he pretends to know, much less to observe, the true Rules of Panegyrick, which it does not appear, that the Antients either understood, or practis'd very well themselves; at least, they have left to us neither the Theory nor Pattern of true Panegyrick in any tolerable perfection: So that 'tis almost as difficult to write Panegyrick, as to write an Epic Poem. Nay, he prefers what's for his purpose, even to known and obvious Rules

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Rules of any sort; and his Subject furnishes him with Matter so highly incredible, that he did not care to take upon himself the Load of it. Besides, this First Essay is but a kind of Introduction for settling of Foundations or Facts.

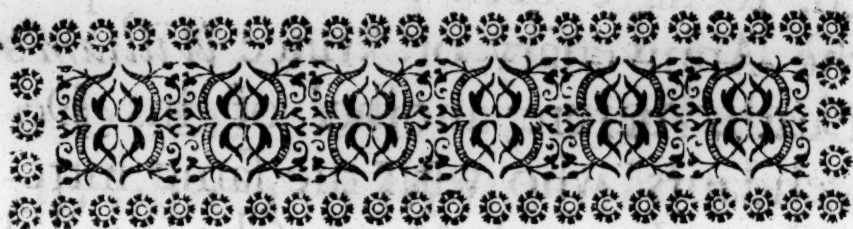
It may be also necessary to advertise the Reader, in case he know not the Pedigree of the Family of *Hannover*, that *Frederick* the Fourth, Elector *Palatine*, marry'd Prince *William's* Daughter, of which Marriage came *Frederick* the Fifth, the King of *Bohemia*, Father to the late Electress. So that the Royal Family descends in a straight Line from Prince *William*, as the Inscription bears.

It remains, to give a Reason why these Essays are written by way of Discourses; which is, because they were originally intended upon other Views, and not at all upon such as they are now published,

PREFACE.

ed, to have been pronounc'd upon the Anniversary of Prince *William's* Death, before another of his Descendants, who with the same intrepid, undaunted Mind (the intail'd Inheritance of the Blood) expected to die such a Death as that of his Ancestor; and had reason to expect it: For if all the Truth were known, which would have been known, had he suffer'd the Discoveries to be prosecuted, the Designs upon his Person were possibly as numerous, as those upon that of his Great Grandfather, of which eight were detected before he was kill'd.

THE



T H E
FIRST ESSAY

Inscrib'd

With all Respect and Duty

T O

HIS MAJESTY.

TO whom the Writer prays God to give better Success, in his generous Design, to extinguish Faction in his Dominions, than this Renown'd Ancestor of his had,
in

Dedication.

in his Endeavours to do it elsewhere ; tho' he did what Mortal Man could do towards it. But the Union of the two evil Spirits, who are to be thrown out, neither by Fasting, nor Prayer, that reign'd on every Hand, among Friends, as well as Enemies, prov'd too strong for him: Stronger indeed, than all the other *Philips* and *Antichrists* he had to do with: For it was neither the Weight of the *Spanish* Monarchy, tho' then the greatest in the World, nor that of the Court of *Rome*, at all times formidable; but the Power of Faction, and
Faction

Dedication.

Faction on its Throne, the Party and Bigot-Spirits in Confederacy, that brought upon the Union at *Ghent* the irrecoverable loss of the ten Provinces, and very near that of the seven, who only escaped, by the Situation of *Holland* and *Zealand*: For the two Devils had also enter'd into most of the Inland five, but which those other two Provinces, by their incredible Union and Wisdom, and Resolution, drove out again. Whereas the Ten, rather than quell the Violence and Fury of the Passions and Humours, that rag'd then among them, according

Dedication.

according to the wise Advices, that he gave them, and mutually bear with one another, or even with the Appearance of standing in need of the Seven, which they look'd on, as being govern'd by the *Dutch*, chose to return to their Vomit, and submit to the very Yoke, which they had so justly abdicated — *They have had their Reward*, were words on another occasion full of Sublime Irony and Satyr; tho' in the Mouth of the mildest of Men; but who spoke naturally more Sublime of all kinds, than did the great Masters of Elo-

Dedication.

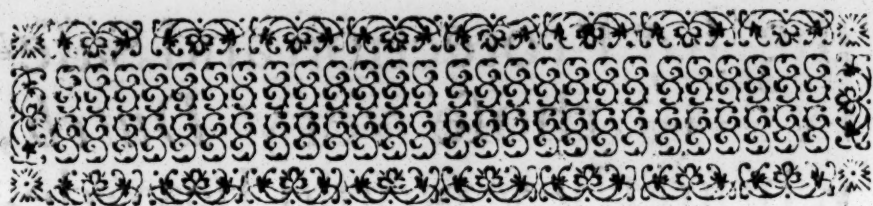
Eloquence, whom we with
so much Justice admire. To
speak in his Sense of the
Flemmings, They have in-
deed had their Reward,
that is, all the Reward they
were to have; *viz.* for a
time their Hearts desire,
their Consolation, as he
calls it, speaking of the
Rich, a full Career to all
their Passions, but a Career
quickly over, and follow'd
with the Horror of render-
ing their Country, for
about 150 Years, a Scene of
Blood and Desolation, and of
being reduc'd at last to the
cutting indeed, but just and
avenging Necessity of flee-
B ing

Dedication.

ing, for Protection and Safety, to those very *Dutch*, whom they would have destroyed.

Dutch! who by their Union and Concord rose to be the Subject of Admiration to all *Europe*. *Flemmings!* who by their Disunion and Divisions, or Factions, sunk to be that of their Pity, or Indignation and Scorn.





FIRST ESSAY.

MY original Design, Gentlemen, was in the first place to have given you an Account of the Life and Character of *WILLIAM* Prince of *ORANGE*, the Founder of the Government of the *United Provinces*; To which I was to have added a particular Vindication of the great Work he undertook; and of his exemplary Integrity in the Management of it: and to have concluded with the Essays of Panegyrick on his last Words; which I am now to begin to entertain you with. But since I know not when the Reasons may cease, which have hitherto hinder'd me from finishing and publishing his Life and Vindication; I shall, at present, recite as much of what I have written in these two Discourses, as may serve to bring him into your Thoughts, and to give you such Impressions of him, as seem necessary to prepare you for what I have to say on his Death.

To begin with settling the Matter of Fact; it was thus. He was shot in his own House

at *Delft*, in 1584. by an *Assasin*, engag'd by the *Spaniards* to do it: And dy'd immediately; having only time for his Prayer, *Lord Pity the People*; saying neither more nor less: For, that he mention'd his Soul, as many Writers affirm, is a vulgar Error, occasion'd by a loose Paper that was printed at first; but which the *Dutch* Historians have set right; as the Passages in the Title Page show. And that Account destroys it self; for why should the Countess of *Swartsenberg*, his Sister, have ask'd him to recommend his Soul to Christ, if he had done it already in his Prayer: as that Account has it? No: it was because he had not done it; which she, good Woman, in her Zeal, took to be a great Omission.

I can't but here observe, that the *Spanish* and *Italian* Writers, who are all his declar'd Enemies (these last being also, for the most part, Subjects of *Spain*) either dissemble this Matter entirely; taking no notice, whether at his Death he spoke or no: or are positive, with *Bentivolio*, that he said nothing at all: Or own, with *Campana*, that he spoke indeed, but that what he said was unintelligible. So sensible and aware were they, how much those few Words of his, if own'd, would have both establish'd and exalted his Character.

A Character! to be compar'd with any of Antiquity, says a Popish Writer of the last Century;

Century ; who deserves the highest Credit, because he had great Opportunities to know the Truth of what he relates of this Prince and his Posterity ; and is equally ingenuous in owning what was good or bad in either of them. I mean *Du Maurier*, who was bred at the *Hague*, under his Father, who was Ambassador there from *France*, in Prince *Maurice's* time.

He had wonderful Talents, says another late Popish Writer (*Bizot*, the famous *French* Medalist, employ'd by the Court of King *Lewis XIV.*) and deserves to be compar'd to the Hero's of *Old-Rome*, for devoting himself, as they did, to the Safety and Honour of his Country ; the Burden of whose Affairs he bore with great Glory, and was, he says, indeed their Guardian Angel.

Nay, his Character is not only equal to any in *Plutarch*, as *Maurier* speaks, but indeed exceeds all Characters, both Ancient and Modern, if we can believe *Thuanus*, the most celebrated Historian of that Age, and possibly the most to be credited of any Age. He enumerates six great Virtues in this Prince, viz. *Magnanimity*, *Prudence*, *Firmness of Mind*, *Justice*, *Patience*, and *Moderation* ; which he doubts, he says, whether ever they were found together, in so eminent a degree, in any one Mortal Man. To this nothing should be added, but one Line in *Mezeray*,

that in a manner vies with it; Prince *William*, says he, sav'd his Country by incredible Wisdom and wonderful Virtue: Which is in effect to tell us, that he was one of the happiest Men upon Earth; and had the noblest Title to be so; being one, as he intimates, of the wisest and best Men too. For indeed, what greater Happiness can there be, in this unhappy State, than for a Man to be the Instrument of saving his Country; and of doing it, by excelling all other Men in Wisdom and Virtue; as you hear it is own'd on every hand, this Prince did!

Nay, the Writers of Note among the *Spaniards* and *Italians* do this Prince the Justice to own, that he had been [*omnis ævi ac memorie clarissimus Princeps*] one of the most extraordinary Men of any Age, had he not been a Rebel and a Heretick, aspiring and ambitious. He had many great Qualities, had he made a good use of them, says Cardinal *Bentivolio*: and in another place --- born for great Glory, could he have been satisfied with his Condition. No Mortal more capable than he, says *Strada*; BUT --- And elsewhere; No Man but he and such a People in his Hand could have done, what they did; BUT --- None but the Prince of *Orange* could have supported the Provinces, says even *Cabrera*, *Philip II^d's*. Historian; BUT --- Belov'd and esteem'd by all those that knew him for his
great

great Qualities, says another Jesuit; B U T---
 The greatest, richest, and wisest amongst
 them, says even *Maimbourg*, speaking of the
Flemmish Nobility; B U T--- He seem'd not
 to have any Design of making himself Master
 of the Provinces, says *Connetagio* in one Place;
 B U T adds in another, that he was against all
 Peace, thinking himself secure in invincible
Holland; where he commanded absolutely.---
 He was the greatest Politician of his Time;
 nothing escap'd him, says the *Spanish* Writer
 of the Duke of *Alva's* Life. B U T---

This Writer too, does him a Piece of
 Justice, that is not usually done to him. For
 tho' all own, that no Man was his Equal
 in Business; they do not generally praise him
 for a Commander; but reckon the Duke of
Alva, and others, Men of more Fame and
 and Experience in War. And 'tis true, that
 the Prince never beat his Enemy; nor did
 the two great Armies that he rais'd any
 thing of Moment. The Reason of which
 was, the *Flemmings* did not join him at his
 first coming, by which that Opportunity was
 lost. Their God Mammon had not been yet
 attack'd by the Imposition of the Tenth and
 Twentieth, and Hundredth Penny. And
 by the Massacre of his Friends at *Paris*, and
 his not receiving the Assistance of Men
 and Money promis'd him by them, and by
 that perfidious Court; he lost his second

Attempt. For the Massacre happen'd in the very time of it ; when he was endeavouring to raise the Siege of *Mons*, by forcing the Duke of *Alva* to fight at any rate. For his Brother Count *Lodovick*, *La Neue*, and others of his Friends, whom he valu'd most, were in the Town. But the main Reason, *Brantom* says, the Prince himself gave him for his bad Success, was his want of Money to pay his Troops ; which others, particularly the *French* Court, had undertaken, but fail'd to provide : and he himself was so exhausted with the Charge of raising them, that he sold all he had about him, except his wearing Cloaths ; and mortgag'd the Rents of his Principality of *Orange*, and other Lands, for twelve Years, to pay them off, when he dismiss'd them, as *d' Aubigni* informs us. I may add that they were new Levies ; and that both *Strada* and *Bentivolio* own, that he was in Danger to be deliver'd up, by them, to the Duke of *Alva*. And yet, notwithstanding these Disadvantages, that Duke would not venture to fight him, tho' he had old Troops, the best in *Europe* ; well paid ; and otherwise well provided for. And tho' the Prince pass'd the *Maes* near him ; upon which the Duke ask'd, if the Prince and his Army had got Wings. And he decamp'd three and twenty times, with Troops that had mutiny'd and fir'd upon him ; insomuch that

that it was only the Hilt of his Sword, that sav'd his Life from his own Men. And about the same time, a little Dog, by scratching his Face, and awaking him, sav'd him from the Enemy; who had forc'd their way into his Tent in the Night. With such disorderly Troops, he made all these Marches in the Sight of the Duke, in one Campagne, without ever exposing his Rear, except once. And of which he quickly took his Revenges; killing one of the Duke's Sons, and a great many of his *Spanish* and *Italian* Nobility.

No: the Duke of *Alva*, the best Judge of any Man in his Time, in such Matters, knew the Prince, and reckon'd him a great Commander, as says the Writer of *Alva's* Life. He's both able and cunning, said the Duke, and will not fight, but when he thinks himself sure of Victory. And therefore, when the Duke left *Flanders*, he took his eldest Son with him; refusing him the Command of the Army; because, as he said, he knew the Prince of *Orange* would be too hard for him. Nay, says the same Writer, all his wise Countrymen concluded their Affairs lost in *Flanders*, when the Duke of *Alva* left the Army. Because *Philip*, they said, had no other Commander, to put at their Head, who could be compar'd with the Prince of *Orange*. *Cabrera* too, *Philip II.*, Historian, who lessens the Prince, upon all Occasions,

as

as much as he can, owns he was a great Master of the *Spanish* Discipline, which was then the best in the World. And *Reidamus*, who was indeed his Friend, but appears to be a judicious impartial Writer, says, that no Man, in his Time, was his Equal in the Art of War ; or probably he means, the Stratagems of War ; which agrees with what the Duke of *Alva* said of his Cunning [*Belli artibus neminem suo tempore parem habuit.*] Which Character of him, it seems, was the prevailing Opinion in that Age ; otherwise so prudent and cautious a Writer, as *Reidamus*, would not have ventur'd his Reputation, in affirming it so positively as he does. And indeed, the States at *Antwerp*, upon a particular Occasion, own it ; though at the same time, the Party amongst them hinder'd his getting the Command ; which contributed much to lose them in the End.

Things also themselves speak. *Charles V.* a good Judge both of Men and War, [*Æquus virtutum judex*] says *Grotius*, made him General of the *Flemmish* Horse at Nineteen, and General of his Army at One and twenty ; preferring him, though absent, to all his old Generals ; and opposing him to the Duke of *Nevers*, and the famous Admiral *Coligni*, the two *French* Commanders then most in Reputation, who in two Campaigns had no Advantages over him. On the contrary, besides the
the

the defeating one of their great Convoys, he fortify'd two Towns in their Sight, *viz. Philipville* and *Charlemont*, notwithstanding all they could do to hinder it ; by which he got great Honour. He was also in the Battel of *St. Quintin*, and after that, in the Civil Wars in *France* ; as he had been before in those of *Germany*, under *Charles V.* So that from his Youth he had been train'd up to War.

Nay, 'tis alone sufficient for his Military Glory, that he was never beaten, considering he had to do with the greatest Commanders, and the best Troops of that Age ; he himself having only new Levies to oppose to the Duke of *Alva* ; and, for the most part, but *Flemmish*, or rather *Walloon* Militia, to oppose to *Coligni*. The Pleasure of doing him here a necessary Piece of Justice, has carry'd me farther than my Purpose requir'd.

You see, Gentlemen, I have no great Occasion for Testimonies from those of his own side, in order to establish the *Greatness* of his Character ; which I shall therefore make use of, rather for Ornament than Proof : Or shall, upon Occasion, as I have done fully in the Vindication, add them to the Testimonies you have heard of the *French Roman Catholics* in favour of his Virtue, and the *Goodness* of his Character.

But the Account that *Grotius* gives both of the *Greatness* and *Goodness* of his Character,
and

and which I shall have frequent Occasion to make use of, is above all Exception ; for though he must be number'd among his Friends as a *Dutch* Protestant Historian, yet his Testimony may be reckon'd of equal Strength and Credit with what I have borrow'd from his Enemies, if we consider the unjustifiable and barbarous Usage which *Grotius*, that was, and will ever be, an Honour to his Country, and indeed to the Age he liv'd in, met with from this Prince's Family : Who, without regard to common Humanity, had him shut up in close Prison at the *Hague* nine Months ; without leave to his Wife and Children, &c. so much as to see him, though he was sick ; or to speak to him, even in the Presence of his Enemies : And at last, with as little regard to the common Forms of Justice, got him condemn'd by Men, whom it cost much time to find out, and mould to their Purpose ; and who were no more, in Law, his Judges, than so many Porters, call'd from the Streets, would have been ; and condemn'd him to worse than Death, had he not made his Escape, viz. to Poverty, and perpetual Imprisonment : For they allow'd him, and his numerous Family, only about two Shillings a Day, out of his own Estate, which they had confiscated and seized on.

But

But what is not the Party-Spirit capable of? Particulary, when join'd with the other narrow and violent Spirit, which has this Peculiar to it, that the more honest it is, the more 'tis usually ungovernable. And both these Spirits happen'd to chime in with, and to be subservient to the Passions, and Purposes of a provok'd, ambitious and designing Prince; and who had an Army in his Hands, not indeed his own, but equally concern'd with himself in one part of the Subject of the Debate. But if the elder Son, Prince *Maurice*, drove on all this, the younger Son, *Frederick-Henry*, condemn'd every Step of it; and redeem'd the Honour of his Blood, by putting an end to what would have otherwise prov'd the Ruin of that People; though he could never prevail so far, even with his own Party, as to get *Grotius* recall'd from his Banishment; of which that Prince gave him Hopes, as appears by his kind Letters to him. The Truth is, *no Party is any Man's but as he is their's*. However, even thus, Prince *William* may still be reckon'd happy in his Sons: For, not to mention Prince *Maurice's* being the greatest Commander of his Time, and that with all his Failings, he indeed, next to his Father, sav'd the Provinces: Few Fathers can thus ballance Matters in their Families, otherwise the Majority of Mankind would

would not be so numerous, as it is, on the wrong side.

I have insisted so much on this Matter, because *Grotius*, though he writes only Annals, during Prince *William's* Time, is the Writer whom I shall chiefly make use of: And that I might give a Sample of the Impartiality, with which I intend to prosecute a Design, great indeed in itself, and in which [*voluisse* *fat est*] the Project or Thought alone gives Honour enough; but where the Use and Value of the Performance depend upon the impartial Management. Now I could not have had a more proper Occasion to show, that neither my Admiration of the Character of Prince *William* (the Saint of the Day) nor the Sense I have of what we *Britons* owe to King *William*; nor Education, which makes Men equally Pagans, Turks, Jews, Christians, Papists, Protestants, I would have added other Denominations or Distinctions, but that Places, and not Education, make them now: To show, I say, that none of these, however powerful, Considerations, nor others yet more powerful, though not mentioned, shall, at least with my Knowledge (they may, I own, have that Effect without it) be able to influence and bias me.

Prince *William* was a Man, says *Grotius*,
[*Cui ingens animus, sui celans, quantævis rei*
capax;

capax; & *par animi magnitudini consilium*] literally, a Man of a vast, but close Mind, equal to the greatest Undertakings; with a Judgment equal to the Greatness of his Mind: that is, he had a true Magnanimity, to engage in Enterprizes of the highest Nature; and had all the Wisdom, or Judgment, and Prudence necessary to go through with them. It was a great Question, says the Cardinal, which of the two he excell'd most in; Judgment and Capacity in undertaking, or Prudence and Caution in executing.

I have said nothing of his Eloquence, or other particular Talents, tho' equal to any thing I have mention'd; because my Purpose, at present, is only to give general Impressions of him; and not to enter into his Character, farther than my Subject, his *praying*, *pitying*, and *dying Love for his Country*, obliges me to do. He had the Art of Persuasion, says *Connetagio*, an Eloquence peculiar to him; by which he was Master of the Minds of those he had to do with; and could incense them, or appease them, by persuading them to, or dissuading them from, whatever he pleas'd. He enchanted the People, says *Cabrera*: tho' the Strength of his Eloquence did not lie in Words or Action: For he was, as becomes a Man of Quality, above minding either, further than Significancy and Decency requir'd; and he was far from flattering his Hearers:

All

All which usually work upon the People, But his Talent in speaking lay in a masculine, persuasive, irresistible Reasoning ; as *Reidanus* informs us : And, which is yet more operative, and is the true Secret of Eloquence, he spoke naturally Truth and Reason from his Heart ; which is indeed to speak to the Heart : For Hearts understand one another's Language best ; as whoever reads his Discourses, particularly in *Connetagio*, will feel. No Man ever had such a Talent, to turn Men's Minds to his purpose, as he [*circumagere animos hominum*] says the Cardinal, or *Strada*. The Truth is, by his famous Discourse at *Antwerp*, to persuade the States of the Necessity they were under to reconcile themselves to the Duke of *Anjou*, tho' he had prov'd so treacherous to them ; he brought them to be all of his Mind, before he had done, tho' none were of it when he began ; as the Cardinal observes : but could never bring the Body of the People to it ; particularly in *Holland* and *Zealand* ; because it was not possible for him to discourse them all. And the Memory of the Perfidy, as well as the Cruelty of the *French* Court, at the Massacre of *Paris*, but a few Years before, was fresh in their Minds.

I cannot here pass over his magnificent Manner of Living. In Table and Equipages, &c. he was equal to great Princes [*magnis Principibus par*] says *Strada*. A Magnificence
that

that did Honour to those he served, *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* Says another Jesuit, Father *Daniel*, an Historian preferable in the Art of Writing, or Perspicuity and Method, possibly to all Historians ancient and modern. All own, that he kept House for the whole Court, where there were no Tables kept, during *Philip's* Stay in the *Low-Countries*: Nay, foreign Princes and Ambassadors not only eat with him, but were lodg'd; and had their whole Expence defray'd by him in his House at *Brussels*. He had indeed a vast Estate, and a Soul above it, [*contemptor divitiarum animus*] as *Grotius* expresses it. He was at infinite Expence upon three Occasions, as he himself informs us, in the Service of the Court, without one Farthing of Allowance; and for this, appeals to the Treasury Books; that is, when he commanded *Charles* the V^{th's}. Army, when he carry'd the Imperial Crown to *Ferdinand*, and when he was Ambassador and Hostage for the Peace. By these Services he lessen'd, he says, his Fortune a Million and a half; that is, he spent all his own Revenue, and contracted so much Debt. And upon other Occasions in the War, when he owns he had an Allowance, he says it was not enough to pay his Servants for setting up his Tents.

C

He

He sent, or brought himself from *Germany* to the *Low-Countries*, about Fifty six thousand Foot, and Twenty four thousand Horse, at several Times, according to *Bentivolio's* Calculations ; all rais'd at his own Charge and Credit, except an inconsiderable Sum, which the Refugees collected, and which serv'd but to show their Zeal ; others having undertaken to pay his Army, when once in the Field.

Thus he got nothing by the War, but the Glory of saving his Country, [*præter gloriam nihil*] says *Grotius* : For he left, says the same Author, his private Affairs in great Disorder ; so great, that for a long time none would own themselves his Heirs : And in the mean while, all his Furniture, and Rings, and Plate, and even wearing Cloaths, were publickly put to Sale, for the paying of his Debts ; as *Reidanus* informs us. *A glorious Auction! and infinitely for the Honour of Him and his Family.* And yet, who could have look'd on, and not have been mov'd, not have been provok'd, to think, that Heaven was thus *finishing on his Fortune, what Gerard, his Assasin, had begun on his Person.* So hard a Matter it proves often, for the little Mind of Man, be he otherwise ever so great, to overcome vulgar Prejudices, and make a true Estimate of Things. No : kind Heaven had quite
other

other Purposes; Purposes! surprizingly gracious; as will appear in another Discourse, if I go on. So dear, but never too dear, is the Purchase of great Virtue! which is not to be attain'd to, but in the way of Adversity; the way that leads to it by the Nature of the Thing, or of Man, as well as to the Reward of it, by Divine Appointment. The Instances to the contrary, I mean of Men become Heroes by a Course of Prosperity, are so few, that, like true Exceptions, they rather confirm than break the Rule.

But as to the *Greatness* of his Character, there is yet a more undoubted Proof of it, than even the Testimonies of his Enemies, *viz.* the Voice of Things, or of the Work which He and that People did; and which no History, true or fabulous, can parallel: A Work! in all respects better, and in most greater; nay, I may say in all infinitely more extraordinary, than either that of *Cæsar* to ruin his Country, or of *Alexander* to plunder the East; undertaken with a Greatness, and made good with a Constancy or Fortitude of Mind, that passes all Belief [*cum constantia omnem superante fide*] says one.

Good God! A few Fishermen, in comparison: For Armies and Discipline, Numbers and Riches, Grandeur and Dominions, were all on the other side: Two Provinces,

rather less than two of some of our Counties; whose Quota (supposing them entire) was then but a Tenth part of the Taxes of the Seventeen, says *Du Plessis Mornay* (when he was in the Service of the Provinces under Prince *William*) and whom the Town of *Antwerp* did alone exceed in Riches; but who had also the half of their People against them, in their Religion or Hearts; and had for eight or ten Years, after the War began, their two Capital Cities in the Hands of their Enemies, that serv'd for Rendezvouzes to all their Male-contents: The War to reduce one of which, viz. *Amsterdam*, cost about a Hundred thousand Mens Lives; and the Siege of the other, viz. *Middleburg*, cost the *Spaniards*, singly in their Attempts to raise it, above Seven Millions of their Money, not to mention the Charge of the Garrison and Defence, &c. And exhausted, nay had almost ruin'd *Zealand*, in the Efforts they made above their Strength to take it.

Such a handful of People, and in such Circumstances, engag'd in a Quarrel, which, for the first ten Years of the War, none of the other Powers of *Europe* durst espouse directly, or indeed indirectly, to a degree worth the mentioning; though their common Danger and Interest sufficiently dispos'd them

them to humble *Philip*. And when Queen *Elizabeth* concern'd herself, it was not 'till the whole Seventeen Provinces had declar'd, and associated at *Ghent*, and that she apprehended they might give themselves up to *France*. But still she acted with such Regard to *Spain*, whom she dreaded, that she articulated with the Ten Popish Provinces, and valu'd herself upon this at *Madrid*, "neither to change their Master, nor their Religion; --- particularly to do nothing unbecoming Subjects in a Monarchy; and above all, to retain the *Roman* Religion, which they had suck'd in from their Cradles, and to resolve on a Peace." These last were her own Words. Who can believe it! Not change their *Philip*! who she knew had Designs then both upon her Life and Crown! Nor their Antichrist, who she knew too was in the same Conspiracy with him, and had anathematiz'd and proscib'd her! But what will a Lady not do in a Fright?

But thus it was, that, under such great Difficulties and Discouragements, this Prince, a Prince of *Orange*, not a vast and rich Continent, abounding with Mines and Spices in the known or unknown, old or new Worlds; but a Spot of Ground upon the *Rhone*, beautiful and fruitful indeed; but in a worse

Neighbourhood than that of Wolves and Tigers, that never suffer'd it to maintain itself, and much less to maintain him, or any way contribute to the Charge of so vast an Undertaking. Under such Difficulties, I say, this Prince did so great a Work, and became literally, as his Marble has it, *A Terror to him that was a Terror to all Europe* ; and who, upon this Occasion, showing himself as little as the other was great, could not dissemble nor contain his Joy : For when he receiv'd the News of this Prince's Death (whom he indeed murder'd more than his Russian *Gerard* did) the only concern he express'd, was, that the Stroke had not been struck twelve Years sooner ; that is, about the time of the seizing the *Brill*, which gave the great Turn to Affairs in the *Low-Countries* against him.

But to go on : This Prince and People made good so extraordinary an Undertaking, in a manner yet more surprizing and extraordinary. Men may in Passion, or without Consideration, engage in any Design ; But to go through with a Work of such a Nature, so full of Difficulties, in all Appearance insuperable, and of so many Years continuance, above twenty, under his Conduct, and about threescore, under that of his two Sons, may indeed require Passions to excite and animate the Undertakers ; but
requires

requires also the greatest Wisdom possible to direct them, and all the Virtues the Soul of Man is capable of, to execute what is resolv'd on.

The manner, at first, was by passive Valour, by their bearing to be beaten; which was their Lot, except once or twice, not only in his Time, but all along during the first War, that lasted above forty Years before the Truce. For, contrary to Expectation, they not only held out, and defended themselves; but, to the Surprize and Admiration of Mankind, they did, by their invincible Resolution and Perseverance, without relenting or desponding, break to pieces the greatest Power on Earth; as the Rock unmov'd does the Waves; and found Work for *Spain*, that made them exhaust and drain their *Indies* to no purpose.

The War against the two Provinces cost the fifteen alone, in six Years, under the Duke of *Alva*, thirty six Millions of Florins, not to mention Plunderings, Quarterings and Contributions; And cost *Spain*, before the Truce in 1609, four hundred Millions of Crowns, and Three hundred thousand Mens Lives, besides the other great Losses of Subjects and People. *Brabant* and *Flanders* wanted, at the time of the Truce, one half of their Inhabitants. Six hundred thousand

Families had then remov'd from the ten Provinces ; and a Hundred thousand Persons had dy'd for Religion, say the States, under *Philip*, besides the Massacres of whole Towns, as *Mecklin*, *Zutphen*, *Narden*, *Ouderwater*, and others : For instance, *Maestricht*, where, besides the Men, Seventeen hundred Women, if I remember right, were murder'd ; and *Haerlem*, where, upon the surrender, about Two thousand of the Garrison were butcher'd in cold Blood ; as were all the Inhabitants of *Narden*, and elsewhere, contrary to the Faith of Stipulations or Treaties. Add to these Fifty thousand, that had been put to Death, in his Father the Emperor's Time, for Religion ; [*tantum potuit, &c.*] So great has the Mischief been, that Zeal without Knowledge, in Matters of Religion, has brought upon Mankind.

Thus, I say, they conquer'd without Victories ; for in all these forty Years they had but one (at *Newport*) that deserves the Name ; conquer'd by suffering and enduring, as other Fishermen overcame the World by the Cross. Nay, they were more than Conquerors ; and had, as the others, the Courage that renders invincible ; which the Heathen would have call'd, to be brave in cold Blood, or without Passion ; and to be able to make bold with, and encounter Death in any Shape,

Vultu

*Vultu sereno fortis :**Morte deliberata ferocior.*

In a word, though no Comparison is to be made between the Establishment of Christianity, and the Establishment of that Republick, or any Establishment whatever ; because that of Christianity being the peculiar Work of Heaven, in which little or nothing was left to Instruments ; and even that little subject, at first, to immediate Direction, there's no room for comparing humane Works with it : Yet it must be own'd, that there's a great Resemblance in many things, between the manner of Providence in the one, and the manner of Providence in the other, whether we consider the Cause, or the Instruments, and the Management : At least, the Event or Success of these at our door, is next to that of those at a distance from us, wonderful and inconceivable ; and, for ought I know, will Seventeen hundred Years hence, appear equally incredible to such as are equally prejudic'd ; and who will be at no more Pains to enquire into the Truth of this Matter, than they are usually at to enquire into the Truth of Religion. “ Matters almost
“ undiscernable to any Man, that is not
“ plac'd to the best Advantage, and both
“ concern'd

“ concern’d and dispos’d to observe them:” Words of Sir *William Temple*, very applicable to both Subjects, though spoke only by him of the wonderful Rise and Progress of that Commonwealth, as well as of its equally wonderful Fall in 1671; whence, he says, the Fall of it must be dated, whenever it (the *summa dies*, the *ineluctabile tempus*) comes; Which two, *viz.* their Rise or Greatness, and their Fall, he calls, “ Revolutions un-
 “ parallell’d in any Story, and hardly conceiv’d, even by those *who have seen*
 “ *them.*” You’ll observe, that if there be any Exaggeration here, ’tis none of mine: But this is not a place for Proof.

I have done it elsewhere, and have there given undoubted Evidence of the great Virtue of this Prince, and of the *Goodness* of his Character, his disinterested Integrity, the untainted Probity of his Mind, and the Purity of his Intentions, to show the Truth of what he affirms of himself; that it was neither Interest, nor Ambition, or Vain-Glory, nor any other Views or Passions of his own, that had engag’d him in so desperate an Undertaking, but purely his Love and Duty to his Country.

He despis’d Riches; and so was never corrupted, nor sway’d by private Interest, says *Grotius*, no more than he was by Power; for

for he had that of a *Dictator* from the Provinces, says the same Writer, but adds, he never *abus'd* it : Nay, the States themselves, long after his Death, own'd, that he had acted, upon all Occasions, as the *Father of his Country*.

He often refus'd their Money. “ And
 “ you know, says he, that I would never
 “ have to do with your Treasury Matters.
 “ — I can with a good Conscience take
 “ God to witness, that I have had nothing
 “ before my Eyes, but his Glory, and your
 “ Good ; which I have preferr'd to Wife and
 “ Children, and all that was dear to me.
 “ — He lost indeed a vast Estate, and
 “ had no Compensation for it, says *Thuanus*.
 “ — And lost his three Brothers and eldest
 “ Son, and the Flower of his Friends and
 “ Relations ; whom he tells the States they
 “ could not restore to him. But, adds he,
 “ I can submit to all this, because I have
 “ nothing to reproach my self with : All is
 “ at Peace and Quiet within ; [*animus præ-*
 “ *clarissime sibi conscius*] and I'm ready to die
 “ too my self, to give my Life, and the Little
 “ that's left me, for the Country. — I wish
 “ for no better than an Opportunity to dis-
 “ cover the Desire and Purpose of my
 “ Heart. ”

And

And, indeed, that this Love for his Country was the predominant Passion of his Soul, and had ever been the ground of all he did ; his Behaviour at his Death, where it got the better of all other Passions, would be alone a full and irrefragable Proof, as Sir *William Temple* well observes. But his whole Life, consider'd in itself, appears to have been but one continu'd Declaration ; I may say Demonstration of it ; to which he set, as it were, his Hand and Seal at his Death.

I have also in his Life given a particular Account of the melancholy Situation of Affairs, about the time when he dy'd, and consequently of the Disposition of his Spirit ; and the occasion there was for his last Words at his Death ; for the one depended on the other, [*fortune publicæ suam arētissime devinxerat*] says *Grotius*. All indeed was then going to ruin. The *Walloon* Provinces had some time before made their Peace with *Spain* ; and the Union then, humanly speaking, near its Dissolution, was losing, and did lose, within the Year, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, and *Antwerp*, and even a part of the seven Provinces. Nor did it appear, how a Stop could be put to the Torrent of Success, which the Prince of *Parma* then had : at least the People thought none could do it, but Prince *William* ; their whole Confidence was

was in him, though he had neither Troops nor Money. He was indeed (for he never gave over) using all possible Endeavours, both at Home and Abroad; and was that very Hour dispatching Letters to his Friends in *France*, for Aid and Assistance, by the Hand that shot him.

What then was there left for him to do, but what he did; to pity them, and pray for them? Was there ever a People greater Objects of Pity; or a Prayer more seasonable?

Here I have proceeded to relate, that as Age came on, a true Sense of Religion grew more and more upon his Spirit; which he owns; and regrets that he had not minded Religion when he was young, otherwise than as young People us'd to do.

Grotius writes, that the great Experience this Prince had of the Vanity of all Humane Enjoyments, in the many Troubles and Losses he had suffer'd, during the Course of his Life, had begotten in him this religious Temper and Disposition of Mind; which, he says, he was told by those, who had liv'd in great Intimacy with him. Nay, *Thuanus* makes the Protestant Religion, of which he writes he was most tenacious, even to his Death [*ad exitum tenacissimus*] the main Cause that engag'd him in the War, and kept him in
 Trouble

Trouble and Disquiet all his Life. Thus it appears, by the Testimony of a *Roman* Catholick, that he was train'd up in the uncouth and solitary, but sure Path of the Cross, literally speaking; that is, of suffering for Religion, or for what he thought such; which is indeed to every Man true Religion, or supplies the place of it; when their Thoughts are the Work, not of the Flesh, (Corruption, Wantonness, or Levity of Spirit) which the Apostles call Heresy; but of a sober and serious Mind, which they call the Fear of God, that worketh Righteousness, maketh Men good and beneficent; and is, they say, accepted of, without respect of Persons, or who they be, Christians, Jews or Gentiles; that is (as is obvious to any Man not in the Cause) without regard whether they be otherwise in the right, or in the wrong: Which I shall have occasion to show to have been this Prince's settled Persuasion, upon great Application and Enquiry into such Matters.

Of this his pious Disposition I have given full Proof. And though in this, as in other Matters, he shun'd great Professions; for he was both a close Man, (and therefore call'd the Taciturn, or silent Man, by Cardinal *Granville*) and a modest Man; being as eminent for Modesty, and a taking submissive manner, as for any of his other Virtues; it
being

being that, and his Capacity, which made *Charles V.* admire him from a Boy, and indeed love him more than he did his own Son; the Reason, 'tis thought, that prov'd the Foundation of *Philip's* Aversion to him. Yet the thing itself, *viz.* that he was a religious Man, is evident; and appears less or more in all his Discourses and Letters, which his Enemies reproach him with, under the Name of Heresy.

“ As for myself, says he to the States, I “ have had Offers enough made me at *Collen*.” Where indeed the *Spaniards* offer'd him more than so modest and disinterested a Man, as he was, could have ask'd; that is, the Liberty of his eldest Son, whom, when a Boy, they had seiz'd on; and, contrary to the Privileges and Opposition of the University of *Louven*, had carry'd him by violence from his Studies into *Spain*, where they kept him Prisoner, and bred him a *Roman* Catholick; he not being of an Age to know the Difference; but he became old enough to show, that he still retain'd the true Blood of his Race in him: For the Governor, a Man of Quality, talking brutally, in his Presence, of the Prince, his Father, he having no Arms to resent it, threw him out at a Window of the Prison, over a Rock, and broke his Neck; which, to do the *Puncto* Justice, the Court
of

of *Philip* very honourably commended him for; having got a true Account how the Matter pass'd, from one of their Number that happen'd to be present. With such a Son's Liberty, they offer'd the Prince to give that Son all his Governments and other Posts; and to give himself back his whole Estate, with the Arrears, (if I remember right) a vast Sum; for it was a vast Estate, and had been long in their Hands. And to all this they were willing to add a Million of Money, to pay the Debts that he had contracted in the War; than which nothing could be more honourable for himself, and the Cause; for this was a tacit Vindication of both: Nay, I may call it an express owning the Justice of the Suit on his side, thus to condemn themselves to the Expences of it. *Strada* too, or *Bentivolio* own, that the Duke of *Villa Nova*, *Philip's* Plenipotentiary at *Collen*, had, besides the Powers, which he own'd, for making all these Offers, a secret Instruction to stick at no Terms, to get the Prince to leave the seven Provinces, and retire to *Germany*; that is, to look on and see his Country ruin'd: Which we know, Gentlemen, many can do for nothing; nay, who think it great Merit, and a Foundation for Claims and Pretensions not to have done worse. But he [*semper idem* indeed] ever like himself, and who could

could not bear even the Appearances of Evil
but was resolv'd to share with his Country
in its Fate, would not so much as treat.

“ No, goes he on, I have hitherto preferr'd
“ the Glory of God, and your Good, &c.

“ — Who knows not what is due to his
“ Conscience, Honour and Country? —

“ This Comfort I shall have, that I have
“ lost all, for the sake of Religion and Li-
“ berty. — It is but reasonable, before

“ God, says he, that I fight even unto Death
“ for so good a Cause; and which I'm re-
“ solv'd to do: for to die honourably may

“ well be call'd a new Birth. — I can bear
“ even with the Loss of my Son, and Estate,

“ and three Brothers, who were dearer to
“ me than my Life; and with the many In-
“ juries and Aspersions of my Enemies, as

“ well as the Envy and Ingratitude of my
“ Friends. — Nay, I'm ready to give up all

“ my Posts, but still to approve my self a
“ faithful Servant to you and the Country;

“ still ready, upon all Occasions, to obey, as
“ a private Man, whomever you shall appoint

“ to command. — He declares over and
“ over again, that he had dedicated himself

“ and his Family to the Service of God and
“ his Country. — Presses the States, upon

“ all Occasions, to remember, that God had
“ committed to them the Defence of the

D “ Country;

“ Country ; and that a severe Account would
 “ be demanded of them. He has call’d us,
 “ says he, to the Duty of preserving so great
 “ a People, and will exact a strict Account
 “ of our Performance. And having, upon
 “ a great Occasion, given the States his
 “ Opinion and Advice : But whatever it be,
 “ says he, that you resolve on, let me know
 “ your Orders ; I’m ready to serve you ;
 “ provided, adds he, a due Regard be had
 “ to Religion :” That is, provided Liberty
 of Conscience be maintain’d, and all Animosi-
 ties, upon the account of Differences in Opinion
 about Matters of Religion, be suppress’d ;
 for the Spirit of Persecution, the true An-
 tichrist, began then to prevail every where ;
Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, and those
 of numberless other Names, as well as R. C’s.
 no sooner came to have Power, but they
 would needs retaliate, or persecute their
 Persecutors ; [*proscribere proscribentes*] as *Se-
 neca* speaks of the Practice of his Times.

To understand this ; we must know, that
 to bear down this Spirit was the great Work
 of his Life, which he labour’d and wrought
 at Day and Night ; being convinc’d, as he
 often declares, that unless he could compass
 this, all must go to ruin, as the Event show’d :
 For it prov’d a Work too hard for him, and
 the only Work that he ever undertook, in
 which

which he did not succeed at last ; nay, which went near to break his Heart, and crush him. And indeed, neither the Weight of the *Spanish* Monarchy, nor the Power and Rage of the whole Popish Party, gave him so much trouble, or sat so heavy upon his Spirit, as did the Disappointments he met with in this Matter ; the *Philips*, and Antichrists that he had to rencounter every where, in the Hearts or Spirits of the People, Friends as well as Enemies : For he liv'd to see the ten Provinces (except *Antwerp*) thus lost by their Divisions, and the seven broken in upon ; and, according to all humane Appearances, in a way to have the same Fate ; of which the Duke of *Parma* gave positive Assurances to *Philip*, as he might well do : For upon the Treacheries of the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Madness of the Protestants at *Ghent*, Hell seem'd to have broke loose, if I may so express it. Such was the Spirit of Cruelty, Calumny, Division, Diffidence, Fury and Disorder, that then reign'd every where, among those of the Separation : So that Union, 'till then the inexhaustible Fund, that had supply'd them with Men and Money, and whatever they needed, far above their apparent Strength, was no more to be found amongst them.

Now, how hard was it for a Man of his Soul to see thus the Labour and Work of his whole Life overturn'd, and brought to nought ; not by the Power of his Enemies, but by the Passions of his Friends ? To see the Building which he with such Danger and Difficulties had rear'd and brought to Perfection in most places, and put in a fair way towards it in others, even where he had met with the greatest Opposition ; as at *Liste*, *Tournay*, and most part of the *Walloon* Provinces ; and a Building that had cost him so dear, the Loss of his eldest Son, his three Brothers, and the most part of his Friends and Relations, with his whole Fortune, and the Flower of his Years : To see this Building, I say, thrown down, and laid in Ashes ; and by whom ? Why, Good God ! even by his own Workmen ; those with whose Assistance he had rais'd it up. What Flesh and Blood must he have been of, that could bear all this ?

The Truth of the Matter is, it was the Zealots, and other Incendiaries of his own side, the high Pretenders to Religion and Liberty of those Times, that first broke the Treaty call'd, [*La Paix de Religions*] *The Peace of Religions* ; the result of incredible Thought and Wisdom ; in which 'tis evident, he, tho' no Doctor, excell'd all the Reformers. This
was

was the Center and Bond of Union amongst all the Parties ; by which the Majority were every where to be on the Establishment, and others to have a Toleration : And the Boundaries between the Prerogatives of the one, and the Privileges of the other, being regulated, and fix'd by that Treaty, all sides were sworn to maintain and protect one another in the free Enjoyment of those Prerogatives and Privileges ; with severe Prohibitions of all Words and Deeds, that could any way give Scandal or Provocation, upon the account of Differences in Opinion, about Religion.

But his own Pulpit Trumpets of Sedition join'd with the Priests to break the Treaty, though they had both sworn to it ; and to proclaim him an Atheist, or Infidel, that had no Conscience of his own, because he had made them swear against their Consciences ; to maintain Heresy, for Instance, said the R. Cs. and Antichristian Idolatry, said others. The Faction too, or Party-Spirit, inflam'd by the *Flemmish* Nobility, who from Emulation and Envy had form'd it, and put themselves at the Head of it, added fewel to the Fire : All is Artifice and Design, said they ; he values not Religion, nor one side more than another, but as they are more or less fit Tools for his own Ends : He makes a bustle to re-

concile the Divisions, which at the same time he fomented under-hand, to render himself Umpire, or necessary to one side or other, till he can get into *Philip's Place*, that he may tyrannize over both.

But what did he? Why, even like himself, bore all this with an invincible Patience and Fortitude of Mind; giving way to no Provocation, no Ingratitude, no Indignities from Friends or Enemies, no more than to Passions or Humours of his own: No; he would not be angry with his Country; but did what mortal Man could do to prevent the Consequences, the Ruin, which he told the *Flemmings* upon all Occasions, their Divisions must necessarily bring upon them, as they did.

The Protestants at *Ghent* having first broke the Treaty, by driving the R. Cs. from their Churches and Houses, he went thither; and, with the Danger of his Life, having restor'd them to both, he settled Peace and Quiet in the Town, by banishing *Dathan* (who deserv'd his Namesake's Fate) with the other Preachers, the Firebrands of those Times, and with *Imbise*, the chief Magistrate and Incendiary, whom they influenc'd; but who, some time after, lost his Head for endeavouring to betray the Town to those very Roman Catholicks whom he had not long before

fore been robbing, and even clandestinely murdering ; for he was a great Villain, and in his pretended Zeal stuck at nothing : Such is the Temper and Folly, as well as Madness of Men of a certain Character, to jump amongst Precipices, from one Extremity to another : And nothing is more natural, as well as just, than that they should meet, as he did, with their deserv'd Fates.

Thus having quieted the Town of *Ghent*, what did he not to pacify the *Walloons* in the Neighbourhood ? They, upon this Provocation, had taken Reprisals upon the Protestants amongst them, and could never be brought again to observe the Treaty ; but chose to give themselves back to *Spain*, rather than trust, or keep Faith to Hereticks ; who, they said, and had reason to say it, upon this Occasion, kept none to them. Why, besides making all possible Reparation to their Friends at *Ghent* for what had pass'd there, he offer'd to deliver into the *Walloons* hands his own Children, those they had left him, to be kept by them as Hostages for the Performance of the Treaty, in time to come.

But the Party Spirit, particularly amongst the *Walloons*, where the chief of the *Flemmish* Nobility liv'd and govern'd, combin'd with the bigot Popish Spirit of their side, and the bigot Separating Spirit of his own, against

him, which lost the ten Provinces: Whereas the seven Provinces escap'd; because amongst them he had only the Bigots to deal with, there being few or none of the Nobility (that did not side with him) left to form and head a Faction against him. The truth is, the bigot Spirit, however mischievous and furious it may prove upon a sudden Emotion, is so destitute of Sense and Conduct, and so apt to make every Trifle or Subject of humane Prudence the Cause of God, that, when left alone, nothing is to be apprehended from it; but when join'd with a Party Spirit, wise enough, and powerful enough to govern it; the two evil Spirits so united prove often irresistible, as they did, upon this Occasion.

But, Gentlemen, this is a large and noble Subject by itself; the History, I mean, of the Conjunction of the two evil Spirits of those Times, that lost the ten Provinces; which I recommend to whoever amongst you would exercise his Talents, in ranging the Materials I shall help him to. Much Honour is to be got, and no Offence given; for it is not to be apprehended, that his Readers will mistake an Account of Facts, past above sixty Years before our Troubles began, and think they were intended to be apply'd to those Troubles, which have now lasted near these eighty Years; and of which, God knows, if

if the Child unborn shall see the End : *For in a corrupt State, where the Progress is from bad to worse, there is no End, but one that's worse than none.* But, I say, neither such an Application, nor any Offence from it, is to be apprehended ; for we are not yet weary of our Troubles, nor have any Dread of the like Consequences from them, since we shew no Concern to prevent such Consequences ; tho' the Subject of the Difference is often a Nothing [*un Capuchon*] a square or pointed Coul [*a lana caprina*] the Colour of the Elephant.

But now to return where I left off, *viz.* at the Proofs I was giving of this Prince's pious and religious Disposition, by Declarations of his, upon suitable Occasions ; I shall add to these some particular Facts, which will put that Matter beyond all doubt.

Nierop, the Treasurer of the *States*, found him once alone at home, and in his Bed, abandon'd by all his Servants ; *him so good a Master*, left to serve himself (for he excell'd in all private Relations of Master, Father, Husband, Friend, as well as in the publick ones of Prince, Patriot, Citizen, &c.) and him left alone, who was never without numbers of Servants ; for he knew not what it was to be little in any thing, and liv'd great even in his lowest Circumstances. But the truth is, they had all run away and forsaken him, taking it to be
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the Plague that he was dying of ; and he was indeed in appearance dying ; tho' it seems, not then of the Plague ('tis true, he had it at another time) but of Concern and Grief, having lost Hopes of saving *Leyden* ; for tho' he was so low and sunk, that he could hardly answer *Nierop*, when he ask'd him about his Health ; yet no sooner had *Nierop* told him, that he brought him good News of *Leyden*, viz. that the Inhabitants had laid aside their Thoughts of surrendring, and were resolv'd to wait for the coming of the Sea to their Relief ; but all on a sudden, raising himself on the Bed, with Eyes and Hands lifted up to God, he broke forth into Praise and Thanksgiving, and from that Moment recover'd ; and upon his Recovery, by indefatigable Application and personal Labour, sav'd the Town ; as the History of that Matter shews : For it was one of his great Maxims, never on nice Occasions to trust others with the Execution, when he could be present himself.

St. Aldigond, his chief Minister, a *Flemmish* Nobleman by Birth, but whom he had borrow'd from the Elector *Palatine*, because of his singular Capacity in Business, as well as Knowledge in most Sciences, relates, that the last time he saw the Prince, which was a little before his Death, he (*St. Aldigond*) complain'd to him of the Malice and Ingratitude

tude of Friends, at least of those that ought to be such, since they were engag'd in the same Cause : Which, *St. Aldigond* said, he could no longer bear ; and therefore he ask'd leave to retire from Business. And indeed, to bear with, or forgive Friends, proves often a harder Work for a Man of a generous Mind, who is conscious to himself that he never fails his Friend, than it is for him to forgive his Enemies : But we live in an Age that saves us the Trouble of this hard Work. I cannot but here add of *St. Aldigond*, tho' it be not to my present Purpose, that he indeed, after this Prince's Death, retir'd from Business, having first acquitted himself nobly of the Trust the Prince had bequeathed to him, by the famous Defence he made at *Antwerp* ; but for which he met with, in return, Defamation and Calumny, as if he had betray'd it : So that he might well have added the Word *Justice* to his Motto, [*Repos aillieures*] *Rest or Quiet elsewhere*. But the States, who had at first preferr'd their own Honour and Reputation to his, did him Justice at last, as became them, and offer'd him Employments of the greatest Confidence and Honour ; but he preferr'd Retirement and Books ; and indeed, as *Solomon* says, there's a time for every thing, And the old General was in the right, who, in answer to *Charles V.* that complain'd of his
laying

laying down, told him, that he was resolv'd, before he left the World, to have some time to think of what he had been doing in it; and not to go bloody, and in a hurry out of it. Which, 'tis said, gave that Emperor the first Thought of what he did not long after, that brought so much Glory to himself, and Reproach upon his Son, for envying him it. But to go on; No, no, said the Prince to *St. Aldigond*, Let all the World, both Friends and Enemies, trample upon us, provided we can but advance the Cause of Religion.

And in a Letter to *Charles IX.* to justify his joining with the *French* Protestants, in the War against him, he says, All Men were in Duty to God, and to their Neighbour, bound to promote Religion; by Arms, 'tis apparent he would say, when Arms are necessary. And indeed, such was his undaunted Spirit, and never-failing or fainting Zeal and Concern, not only for the Cause of Liberty, which is the Cause of God too, but also for that of Religion; which was the true and only Cause of the Civil Wars in *France*, upon this Occasion, whatever other Causes might concur (as is usual) at other times: Such, I say, was his Spirit and Concern, that no Discouragements nor Misfortunes could ever make him despond and give over, as he himself told *Brantom* he would not do: But his Custom
was,

was, when he was no more in a Condition to fight in one Country, to go and fight it out in another : Fight it, I may say, on his *Stumps* : For when all his Designs had miscarry'd in the *Low-Countries*, where he had been in a manner routed and driven out, not by the Power of his Enemies, which indeed was inferiour to his ; but, which went more to his Heart, by the Mutiny of his own Men, and the Pusillanimity of his Friends, who fail'd to furnish him with Money and Provisions. Pray, what did he ? Why, what true Magnanimity prompted him to, which never stops in a good Cause, minds neither what's past, nor to come, but goes on. So having with much ado got rid of his own Army of near Thirty thousand Men, who would have sold him, had not he bought them, sold and mortgag'd all to pacify them ; he went with the Duke of *Deux Ponts* into *France*, with Twelve hundred Horse, viz. all those of his Army that did not forsake him ; and was with that Duke in several Actions, till he join'd the Admiral in *Poitou* ; which March and Junction, Father *Daniel* the Jesuit informs us, was reckon'd one of the greatest Military Performances of that Age, and that he had the entire Honour of it. The Battel of *Jarnac*, where the Prince of *Conde* was kill'd, was over before he came : But he was with the Admiral at the

Action

Action of *Roch-la-belle*, but went away before the Battel of *Montcontour*, being prevail'd on by the Admiral to leave his Men with them, under the Command of his Brother *Lodovick*, and to return to *Germany*, where his Presence and Credit, upon the Duke of *Deux Pont's* Death, were absolutely necessary to procure them more Troops ; which he did, travelling through all *France*, (disguis'd as a Merchant) with more Danger than if he had been in the unfortunate Battles, where his Brother got so much Honour.

'Tis evident also, that by the Cause of Religion he means a Liberty for every Man to serve God according to his own Conscience ; which only indeed is Religion to him, and, as a part of the common Liberty of Mankind, is the only Cause of Religion that may be advanc'd or promoted by the Sword, in opposition to Persecution, as well as defended by it ; as any other Birthright or Property may be asserted and maintain'd in opposition to Tyranny. But to use Force in Matters of Religion upon any other account, is downright contrary to this ; and as much, in his Judgment, a piece of Tyranny, as this is of Liberty. No, his Maxim was, that nothing ought to be more free from Force or Compulsion, than Conscience, or Religion. And it was his declar'd Principle, to tolerate all
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those whose Lives gave no Scandal, and whose Opinions were not inconsistent with humane Society. But the Party and Bigot Spirits of neither Side would bear this, which lost the ten Provinces.

When the *Spaniards*, after the Havock they had made at *Harlem*, were on their March to *North-Holland*, the Governor and Council there wrote to him, that the People were all in motion to ship themselves, and leave the Country ; which they own'd they could not disapprove of, since there was no appearance of Relief : But that if he had made Alliances with any foreign *Potentates*, from whom he expected speedy Succours, they pray'd him to let them know it, that they might communicate it to the People ; and that he would do this without loss of time, for they apprehended the Enemy might shut them up by Sea too.

He, in his excellent Answer, worthy of the Greatness of his Mind, “ Upbraids them
 “ (which was his usual way with the People
 “ [*auctoritatis suae assiduus custos*] says *Reidamus*) with the want of Manly Courage, and
 “ of Experience in the Affairs of this World,
 “ to be thus dejected upon any Accident or
 “ Misfortune, to which all Affairs were liable, as if the Fate of this Land depended
 “ on the Case of *Harlem*. — He takes God
 “ to

“ to witness his Sorrow and Concern for the
 “ loss of that Town, (nay, he was then him-
 “ self, with all the Bravery he shews, sick, and
 “ kept his Bed upon it) which (he says) all
 “ possible Endeavours had been us’d to save.
 “ — But because it has seem’d otherwise
 “ to God in his Divine Will, should we
 “ therefore desert him, or despise his Word?
 “ Is the Hand of God therefore shorten’d,
 “ &c. — ’Tis true, Christian Charity ob-
 “ liges us to compassionate our Brethren of
 “ *Harlem*; but in all Ages the Blood of
 “ Martyrs, &c. — And we ought to be
 “ the more animated to maintain our righte-
 “ ous Cause, that we plainly see the design
 “ of the Enemy is, to oppress Truth or Re-
 “ ligion it self, at any rate; for he violates
 “ all Faith and Agreements, without regard
 “ to God or Man. Therefore I beseech
 “ you, lay aside your pannick Fears; return to
 “ yourselves; and act with the Steadiness
 “ that becomes you: Have before your Eyes
 “ the Example of the *Zealanders*; who, by
 “ their Boldness and Resolution, are gaining
 “ on the Enemy: And if you sustain loss at
 “ any time, for that will happen, submit to
 “ it, as to a Punishment for your Sins. On
 “ our part, we shall spare neither Life nor
 “ Estate, to serve you: But as for Alliances
 “ and *Potentates*; I assure you, that, before
 “ I un-

“ I undertook the Protection of these op-
 “ press’d Provinces, I made such a firm Al-
 “ liance with the *Potentate of Potentates*, that
 “ I am fully perswaded, that you, and who-
 “ soever will put their Confidence in him,
 “ shall be deliver’d from all their Enemies;
 “ tho’ still I am for neglecting none of the
 “ ordinary Means that God has put into
 “ your Hands.”

Thus he put Spirit (his own Spirit) into a
 poor People; who indeed had nothing to ex-
 pect but Ruin; and he makes the Quarrel
 the Cause of God; and that to desert or
 leave the Country, was to distrust his Word,
 and abandon his Cause. Not one word of
 Liberty: For they had an Answer ready;
 that their Design in Flying, was to save their
 Liberty. Nor was it one Town only, as he
 artfully extenuates Matters: No, they had
 before their Eyes, besides *Harlem*, the Blood
 or Massacres, and Ruins and Desolations of
Mecklin, Zutphen, Maesricht, Naerden, Oude-
water, &c.

However, all own the Fact; that his Let-
 ters did the Business; for he wrote a great
 many: And when they began to recover
 their Spirits, he alter’d his Style, and cajol’d
 them; magnifying and extolling their Cou-
 rage; in a manner Propheying to those of
Alkmaer; that they were not only to save them-

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selves

selves, but to have the Honour of saving the whole Country ; as indeed they did : For by the wonderful Defence they made, they broke the Heart of the *Spanish* Army.

But who can here enough admire his own invincible Spirit ; as well as the wonderful Spirit of that People ! For at the time that he wrote those Letters, besides his Illness or want of Health, he had a Load of Vexation and Uneasiness upon him, enough to crush any Man's Spirit, that was not, as the Fathers, I am told, speak of *St. Paul's* Body, made of Marble or Brass.

The Story is thus ; The *Spanish* Army had suffer'd much by the Siege of *Harlem* ; which had lasted seven Months ; and the most part of that time was a hard Winter : And they had neither Money nor Provisions ; for when they took the Town, they wanted 28 Months pay. This gave occasion to a Contest amongst them. Those put in Garrison pretended to have, for themselves alone, all the Money that was rais'd upon the Town ; which the rest of the Army, quarter'd about in the Country, pretended at the same time to a part of. The Commanders having decided the Matter in favour of the last, and order'd them their Share ; the Garrison upon this mutiny'd ; and sent ten of their Number cloath'd as Merchants to the Prince, then sick
at

at *Leyden*; who ask'd to speak to him in private; and being admitted to his Bed-side alone, as they desir'd, which his Friends were afraid to suffer; but he himself fear'd nothing; they discover'd themselves to be *Spaniards*; and told him they pity'd his Condition, now that he was so much weaken'd by the loss of *Harlem*: And to show, how well affected they were towards him, they were come, they said, to offer him back that Town, provided they might have Forty thousand Guilders or Florins paid down. And they added the Manner, how they pretended to make their Word good; a Manner indeed, that could not fail, since they acted by Authority from the Garrison.

Upon this he try'd every where, if it was possible to get the Money; but found it not practicable: So that all he could do, was to thank them, and dismiss them civilly. This Mutiny continu'd six Weeks; which lost the Summer to the *Spaniards*; and, with the Resolution of those of *Alkmaer*, sav'd the Country.

'Tis strange, that in all that time, so small a Sum could not be got; but it is yet more strange and incredible, that he and that People, with such Finances, could think to go on, and go on with the War, as they did, three-score Years longer. *Let never after this true Patriots despair! Liberty, as he says elsewhere,*

is an incomprehensible Good: *Liberty*, has indeed Resources above all Imagination.

Of this there appear'd a signal Instance, at the Siege of *Leyden*, about a Year after; where this very People, that could not command Forty thousand Gilders, to recover *Harlem*; the Defence and Loss of which had cost them Millions; brought Seas and Fleets together, forty Miles over Land, to the relief of *Leyden*. Who can believe it! [*omnem excedit fidem*] says *Strada*. The Damage alone done the Country, amounted to Seven hundred thousand Gilders; which they in cold Blood resolv'd on; the Neighbouring Towns and Villages having, upon the bare Proposal, before Deliberation, solemnly engag'd to one another, that no private Interest should take place, in case the Project should be found practicable.

Incomprehensible *Liberty*! I say again, *that* can make People do more, than is indeed in their Power to do: As it does; whenever it makes them resolve on more; for Resolution gives them the Power that was wanting. There is the Secret, 'tis true; but the Point [*hoc opus, hic labor*] is, how to come at this Secret of taking a Resolution in desperate Cases. Why, one thing can; and nothing but that can do it; such a Love of *Liberty*, as renders Men incapable of parting with it;

incapable of surviving the loss of it. “ We
 “ are sixty good Towns, resolv’d, said that
 “ People to Queen *Elizabeth*, to do and suffer
 “ any thing for our Liberty; and to bury
 “ ourselves in the Ruins of our Country,
 “ rather than part with it.” Right! then all was
 safe, they, and their Country, and their Liber-
 ty; as the Event show’d: no doubt was any
 more to be made of their acting, when
 once they had thus resolv’d: Accordingly
 they did, and suffer’d any thing, nay all things,
 infinitely above their own strength, at least
 infinitely above what Mankind in that Age
 thought it possible for them to do and suffer;
 and which Mankind in Ages to come will
 never give Credit to. *Vivant!* (I mean
 every where in Glory) and all such, if such
 there be in this Sink (or *face*) of ours.

But there can be no better Evidence for his
 Piety, than his usual Practice, as in the Case
 before us, of having, upon critical Occasions,
 recourse to God by Prayer; *whom* he himself
 “ declares to the States, *he had more than*
 “ *once found a Help at Hand, in the greatest*
 “ *Exigencies of his Life.* And therefore, says
 “ he in the beginning of his famous Apo-
 “ logy: My *constant and earnest Prayer* to
 “ God Almighty since I engag’d in your
 “ Quarrel (he speaks to the States) has ever
 E 3 “ been,

“ been, that if, at any time, in the Prosecu-
 “ tion of so good a Work, as the rescuing
 “ you from Slavery, I should prefer my pri-
 “ vate Interests to yours, he would, in such
 “ a Case, punish me with Infamy, and such
 “ other Punishments as I should justly de-
 “ serve.

Of this I have given other signal Instances
 out of the *Dutch* History, particularly a fa-
 mous one; when during the Sea fight near
Middleburg, upon which all depended, he
 being on the Shore, and having concluded
 from some mistaken Appearances, that the
 Enemy's Fleet was getting the better; was
 not able to cover his Concern, but retir'd
 and shut himself up alone; where his Friends
 found him praying, and in Tears, when they
 brought him the News, that their Fleet had
 got the Victory; which those of *Zealand*, to
 this Day, ascribe to his Prayers: For the
 Wind they say chang'd in the critical Minute
 of his retiring, and when the Change was
 necessary to decide the Matter, by prevent-
 ing the Relief of *Middleburg*: For the *Spani-*
ards had two Fleets; one to fight, which the
Dutch beat; and another to take their Time
 and carry Provisions into the Town; as they
 were doing, when the change of the Wind
 stop'd them; which only could do it; for
 the *Dutch* had no Ships to oppose them in
 that

that Place. All which at least shows, the great Opinion the People of that Age had of his Piety; since they believ'd he was thus heard of God.

I shall here add another Instance, that at once contains Proofs of all that I have been affirming, or am to affirm, of his Love to his Country; of the Goodness and Tenderneſs of his Nature; of his Chriſtian Diſpoſition to all Men; and his Piety towards God: But particularly that in his Thoughts and Diſpoſitions about Religion, he excell'd other Men as much, as he did in his other Virtues: In a word, that he was inwardly a truly Pious and Religious Man; tho' he ſhunn'd Show and Profeſſion: And *Proofs* the more to be valu'd and depended on, that he gives them at a Time, that admits of no Affectation, nor other indirect Views or Springs; but ſhows they were the natural Issues of his Heart, of a fix'd and ſettled Temper or Habit of Mind: For he himſelf and all others thought him dying; nor could they think otherwiſe.

The Matter ſtood thus. In *April* 1582, two Years before his Death, as he roſe from Dinner at *Antwerp*, and was ſhewing the Count *de la Vall*, and ſome others of the *French* Nobility that belong'd to the Duke of *Anjou*, then Duke of *Brabant*, &c. the barbarous Cruelties of the *Spaniards*, done on the Ta-

pestry ; he receiv'd, himself, a sensible Proof of their Barbarity ; being at that instant shot in the Head by an Assasin set on by them. The Ball enter'd near his Throat, pierc'd the Jugular Vein, and the Palate of his Mouth, broke one Tooth, and came out near his Nose on the other Cheek. The Fire burnt his Ruff and Beard, but at the same time fear'd the Jugular Vein ; so that he bled little there. He was at first struck or confounded ; and u'd to say, that he thought the House had come down upon him : And it seems he fainted, and was falling ; for the Accounts bear, that they held him up ; and that he quickly came to himself. And then perceiving that his Guards in their Rage were killing *Forini* the Assasin, he call'd to them not to kill him ; for, said he, I forgive him my Death. Observing too, many *French* about him, the Duke, said he to them, has lost a faithful Servant this Day ; adding, that he pity'd him and the Provinces, because of the great Difficulties that they had to struggle with [*Princeps quasi moriturus, & Belgii & Ducis, cui tot difficultatibus conflictandum esse praevideret, vicem lamentabatur, says Thuanus.*] And then addressing himself to the *Flemmings* and *Dutch*, whom he saw there with the *French* ; he exhorted them all to behave themselves with Duty and Fidelity to the

the Duke : For, as Matters are, said he, I know no Prince so fit to protect the Country as the Duke. And all Accounts bear, that in his Agony, both then and after, he shew'd much more Concern for the Duke, and the Country, than for himself. Divine! and, as appears, his natural and unchangeable Temper of Mind.

The Nature of the Wound made those, that were present, give him for gone at first. And it was only by Prince *Maurice's* Prudence, then but eighteen Years of Age; that the People were kept from massacring the Duke, and all his *French*; for the Cry was already up in the Town, [*les noces de Paris*] the *Paris Match* (or Massacre); for it was the Duke's Birth-Day; and he was making Preparations for a Ball, and other publick Rejoicings, which the People took to be a Cover and Art to amuse; as the like had prov'd at the Marriage of the King of *Navarre*: But instead of this, the Duke sent to the Prince for his Protection; and often declar'd, that he had never been so frighted in his whole Life. The Prince, because he could no longer speak, wrote with his own Hand to the Commander of the Town Guards, in favour of the Duke and *French*, to keep all quiet.

But the Bleeding being stop'd, the Physicians hop'd the Danger was over, 'till fifteen
Days

Days after, that the Escar falling off, he lost twelve Pound of Blood by the Wound, and two Pound more, which they took from him, to divert the Course of it. But all this not succeeding, they gave him for gone a second time : And indeed his Recovery was a sort of Miracle ; for one of the Physicians happening, in Despair, to stop the Bleeding by holding his Thumb on the place ; and others continuing to do the same without Intermission for nine Days and nine Nights, the Wound at last clos'd up of itself.

The bare Narrative, or Relation of this Matter, is sufficient to make good much of what I have advanc'd. But to proceed to the particular Point of the religious Frame and Disposition of his Spirit ; one Morning, when he had thrown up out of his Stomach five Pound of Blood, the Physicians, having little or no Hopes of him, forbad him to speak or move ; but he, who never gave over, knew not what it was to be still or passive, when he could be active and in his Duty, wrote on his Table-Book an Adieu to *Du Plessis Mornay*, who was present ; praying him to continue the same Affection to his Lady and Son, that he had ever shown to himself. But this was not all ; for he could hold no longer, but in his Agony, with great Emotion, call'd to Monsieur *Villiers*, his Minister,

ister, as well as Friend and Counsellor, a Man every way extraordinary (for the Prince kept no little Tools about him, as others, to the Dishonour of his Blood, have done :) Call'd to him, I say, with great Warmth and Concern, how he should be able to answer, or give an Account to God for so much Blood as had been shed. And when *Villiers* replied, that the Justice of the Cause, and the Necessity of the War, were to ballance any particular Excesses committed in it: No, cry'd out the Prince, *I trust only to the Mercy of God: 'tis by Mercy only that I can be sav'd.* —

Now, pray, Gentlemen, consider here with me a Prince, nay, a great Man every way ; but at present consider him only, as having liv'd, and now dying (for so he himself and his Friends thought) in all the Circumstances, and with all the Qualities necessary to render him what we call a *Free-Thinker*: For Instance, a Camp and Court Education, that is, in a constant Hurry with the Riot of Luxury, and the other Corruption of Pleasures and Intrigues. A vast Fortune to supply him in all this, and answer the Demands of the Passions and Disorders that attend such a Life. More Knowledge in all Sciences than seems possible to consist with it ; but Gentleman-like Knowledge, general, and for the most part, not sufficient

sufficient for nice and serious Subjects. A Boldness and Freedom of Thought, which a great Mind, and such a Life and Company, inspire, with an Ambition to distinguish himself that way too. Add Times, in which the Question was, Religion, or not ; and which true, if any ; for the Tares were all over the Field so rank and thick, that the good Seed did no where appear. And of Establishments, Sects, Distinctions, Denominations, there were a Hundred to one against Truth (if we'll believe them) wherever Truth could be, or was to be found : For in this the Hundred agreed to damn the One, the every one that pretended to save, or to be the only true one ; which all of them doing, thus at least they made Damnation sure to themselves, to each of them without Exception, if want of Charity can insure it ; which they, and the Apostle too, agree it can ; nay, will, and undoubtedly must, if there be no more Mercy in store for Mankind with the Powers above, than they have for themselves, or one another here below. Add to what I have said, such a troublesome perplex'd Life, and now such an unworthy Death, both of them sufficient to have sower'd and fretted him into a froward and rebellious Temper of Mind ; in a word, to have made his Spirit revolt against Providence.

And

And yet, all this notwithstanding, behold this Prince a *Believer*, first in God, and so an honest Man ; not barely by Nature or natural Dispositions, an Honesty, which like Honour and Courage from the same Stock, often does not hold ; but by Reason, or in Submission to Conviction, and the Author of Nature, that holds when the former fails ; And next a Believer in one, who undertakes to make his Peace (which at Death every Man finds he has to make) with the other ; nay, undertakes to do yet more, to procure him a Reward, even for imperfect (if honest and well-meant) Endeavours.

Why, he reflecting on his great share in the Effusion of so much Blood, could not but with Concern and Emotion, be conscious to himself, that, though the Cause was just, and great, and glorious, his Integrity in the managing of it, had not been so pure and unmix'd, as became him and it. Thus not finding in himself wherewith to stand upon his Justification, he pleads guilty ; and naturally flies for Shelter and Protection to the City of Refuge, the great Sanctuary, from the Avenger, the Cry of Blood, and all other Guilt, to one both his Advocate and Judge, a kind Friend as well as gracious Master ; who promises to receive all those that come to him, with a Disposition to learn of him,
or

or be advised and assisted by him ; and who, though he claims indeed all that's due, and will have them to own the Debt, declares, that he expects not full Payment, but will take what they can give ; expects neither absolute, unmix'd Purity of Intention, nor Perfection of Performance ; but is satisfy'd with the bruise'd Reed, and smoking Flax, Repentance or Sorrow for what is past, and Resolution with Endeavours to amend. And what less could either he ask, or they offer ? 'Tis strange that the Children (the weak, and poor, and simple,) should feel the Root such an Institution has in their Natures ; and yet the Adult (the rich, and the wise, and the mighty, as the Apostle speaks) should so few of them either feel it, or discern it. I thank thee, O Father ! that so it is, said the dutiful Son, who best knew the Reason of the Appointment, that such was the Nature of the Heart of Man. I thank thee, that so it seemeth good to thee (I think are the Words) Reason enough for his Hearers.

But to proceed : I have upon this occasion added, in his Life, other Passages, to show, that though he was of a strong Constitution, having never been sick a Week together, but once of the Plague ; and that he had an invincible Firmness of Mind, which no Misfortunes could shake ; nay, he appear'd
always

always greatest in Adversity : For, instead of relenting, or giving over, he became more active and industrious upon it, as both Friends and Enemies own : [*Nullæ animi frangere adversitates, nulla incommoda aut labores fatigare corpus poterant*] says Reidanus ; [*Ut corpore nihil laboribus fracto, ita animo semper excelso egit*, says Grotius:] Yet all this Magnanimity notwithstanding, such still was his Concern for the Publick, that it often affected his Health ; and his Body, that resisted all Labour and Fatigue, yielded to Grief, though his Mind did not yield to the other usual Effects of it, as during the Sieges of *Harlem* and *Leyden* ; and when he lost his Brothers, with the chief of his *German* Friends at *Mocker Heyde*. For, though upon all these Occasions, he omitted nothing, but did what mortal Man could do to prevent, or redress what happen'd ; yet still, when he could do no more, his Concern was too strong for him, and he fell sick upon it. So that 'tis hard to determine which of the two he excell'd most in, the *Greatness* or *Goodness* of his Mind.

This led me to show, that he was naturally tender and affectionate, full of Pity and Compassion, as all good Natures are, such as his evidently was : For he abhorr'd all Cruelty, [*ab omni truculentia alienus*] says Grotius ;

Grotius ; nay, could not do a hard thing, nor see even the Enemies Country wasted and destroy'd, where he commanded ; nay, he who had been in so much Blood, could not be present at the Execution even of Malefactors. And being at hunting with *Henry II.* and meeting a Crowd hurrying a poor Wretch to Execution ; who should it be, but, as they told him, upon his asking, one that had robb'd the Prince of *Orange* of his Plate at *Paris*, where he was then *Philip's* Ambassador, and Hostage for the Performance of the Peace of *Cambray* : Upon which he discovering himself, got a Promise of them to wait his Return ; and riding straight to the King, got the Robber his Pardon ; as well pleas'd, I believe, with the Rencontre, as the poor Man himself was ; for he did not so much as insist to have his Plate again : His great Soul [*contemptor divitiarum animus*] was above minding it, nor did he ever recover it ; the same having been shar'd, and dispos'd of by the Band ; but order'd his Servants, who would otherwise have stop'd the poor Man's Pardon, to let them keep it.

He would have sav'd even *Jorini*, who shot him, as I have told you, in the Head at *Antwerp* ; and would not suffer the other Plotters against his Life to be torn to pieces
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alive,

alive, according to the Letter of the Sentence ; but artfully got them first to be strangled. Nay, such was his Compassion, even for such Criminals that seem'd not to deserve it ; (as for instance, an Anabaptist that had murder'd his Wife at *Amsterdam*) that wherever he happened to be at the time of severe Executions, he could not abstain from interposing his Credit or Authority, to have them dispatch'd, or otherwise soften'd ; and he was himself ingenious in falling on Expedients, how to reconcile this with the Judgment given in such Cases : And therefore got it added by the Judges, as it were to the Severity of the Sentence, that the Husband should have his right Hand first cut off with the Knife with which he had kill'd his Wife, and to be struck in the Head with it, as it seems he had struck her ; but his true Design was to have him dead before he was thrown into the Fire. With the same Design and Art, he made the Plotters at *Antwerp* to be ty'd so strait about the Neck, in putting the Horses to them, that they were dead before the Horses began to pull.

Count *Bossue*, his Relation, had been in a Design to have him assassinated ; of which a full Discovery was made, by the taking of Letters under *Bossue's* own Hand ; and yet

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the Prince only kept him in Prison, when he had him at Mercy, upon defeating and taking both him and the Enemy's Fleet, of which he was Admiral : Nor did his private Resentment make him oppose *Bossue's* being set at Liberty, by an Article in the Pacification of *Ghent* ; nor his being after this made General of the Confederate Army ; since the publick Service, or Peace and Union among themselves seem'd to require it. For the *Flemish* Nobility growing emulous of this Prince, and envious of his Credit with the People, eighteen of the chief of them combin'd together against him, to thwart him in every thing, and indeed to ruin him ; by endeavouring which, they in the end ruin'd themselves, and lost their Country. They, in order to embroil Matters, were for making *Bossue* General, who was an old Commander, and one of their Body and Number, hoping the Prince would oppose him ; for the Prince had ask'd to be General himself ; and it look'd like a design'd personal Affront, thus to prefer his Assasin to him.

But tho' thus a great Opportunity was lost ; for the Prince, had he commanded, would, as in vain he advis'd them to do, have gone straight to *Namur*, and taken *Don John* Prisoner, which they were abundantly able to do ;

do ; and this would have done the Business at once: He, like all Men of his Understanding, was for great Strokes, *Decisions*. However, he was still too good, and too wise for them ; and shew'd it, upon this occasion, as he had done, upon their sending for the Arch-Duke without his Knowledge, to put him over his Head : For instead of opposing either the one or the other, which he had Credit and Power enough to have done ; only the Publick must have suffer'd by the Divisions this would have created, which was what those Lords desir'd ; but which, he, upon no Provocation, would give way to ; never gratifying his Passions to the Prejudice of the Publick. No : instead of this, I say, he by his frank Compliance, and the Art, in which he excell'd, of managing Men's Minds and Passions, got quickly to himself, from them, the Government both of the Arch-Duke, and of *Bossue*. And indeed, he reform'd *Bossue* to that degree, that he did extraordinary Service, and died much regretted : A signal Instance or Proof, that there was nothing too hard for this Prince ; in which he could not, when he resolv'd on it, get the better both of himself, and of others.

But to conclude this Point of his good Nature, and to convince you in a word, that there was no Grimace nor Affectation

at bottom ; but that he was indeed all of a piece ; the same in his Mind or Thoughts, that he appear'd to be in his Life or Actions: Your Excellency, writes *Du Plessis Mornay* to him (upon some Mistakes between them) *who can think well of your Enemies, even when they are doing you the greatest Injuries*, will not surely misconstrue or take wrong any Action of mine, who have always been, and am your devoted Servant. And *Thuanus* (upon the good Nature and Compassion the Prince shew'd in preserving the *French* Army, from starving, or otherwise perishing, after their perfidious Attempt upon *Antwerp*, where a part of their Design was to have murder'd him) says, the Greatness of his Mind was such, that it rais'd him above all Sense or Resentment of Injuries, in so far as they related to himself [— *animi magnitudine supra omnem privatæ Injuriae sensum constitutus.*]

All this will seem very extraordinary, if we allow this Prince to have been, as undoubtedly he was, a Man of a great Spirit ; which is never without great Passions, and in which 'tis otherwise certain he also abounded ; but he had acquir'd, by much Business, and great and long Practice upon himself, such a Command of his Passions, that he appear'd upon all Occasions, and under the highest Provocations,

cations, the most patient Man alive, and acted as such ; though with a Patience, as *Reidamus*, who knew him intimately, tells us, which he ow'd not to his natural Temper, but to his Reason and Virtue ; which is but Reason put in Practice, [*Patientiam*, says he, *non Naturæ, sed rationi debuit*] ; that is, with a Patience put on, or rather acquir'd. But what may not a Man do with himself, who has such a Constitution, such a Body and Mind, as this Prince had, which way soever he came by it ? From his Parents, or in a great measure from his own Application, Experience and Reflection.

The Truth is, his Love to his Country was his predominant Passion ; which being his own, made it no hard Matter for him to overcome all other Passions, and submit them to it : As when he consented, or, no doubt, gave private Orders to seize on his own Sister, and her whole Family, Husband, Sons, Daughters, and Servants ; whom he had all sent to him under a Guard, upon a Suspicion in Appearance, but indeed to him a Certainty, of their being in a Conspiracy with the Duke of *Parma*, for delivering up the Province of *Gelderland* ; of which the Husband, Count *Berghen*, was Governor ; a Suspicion which quickly appear'd but too well grounded, and cost the *Dutch* dear in the Event. For, tho'

Count *Berghen*, and his Family, were us'd according to their Quality, and the Relation they had to the Prince, and kept under Confinement, rather than in Prison; nor would he suffer even the Servants to be tortur'd, but took a more gentle, though as effectual way, to discover the whole Plot, and to save the Country; and which being done, he, upon their giving all possible Signs of their hearty Repentance, as Oaths and Tears, &c. had them restor'd to their Liberty and Estate: Yet all this avail'd nothing; for they return'd to their Vomit, as fast as they could: And the Sons, who left good Posts in the Army of the States, rose on the sudden to great Commands amongst the *Spaniards*; and none did the United Provinces more hurt than they; 'till at last the *Spaniards* neglecting them, *the usual Fate of Traytors*, they threw themselves again into the Arms of their Country; which had still, like the true Mother, the Bowels to save them.

Now, such good Nature, and such Love in this Prince for his Country, and for whatever more it was his Duty to love, as Friends, Relations, and all good and virtuous Men and Things, could not be without a Disposition to Sympathy, or Pity and Concern: And indeed, that Passion did so much master him, upon all lamentable and moving Occasions,

Occasions, that he could not restrain himself or cover it ; but was often forc'd, even with Tears, to give way to it ; as when he despair'd of saving *Leyden*, and desponded, as I have said, in *Zealand*.

And when, at a Hunting Match, *Henry II.* discover'd to him, through a Mistake (not doubting but that he was trusted ; for he was *Philip's* Ambassador at his Court) the Secret of the Hellish Plot agreed on betwixt *Philip* and himself, upon the Peace (which was after his Death renew'd by his Queen, and the Duke of *Alva* at *Bayon*, with *Charles* the IXth his Son) to exterminate all the Followers of the new Doctrines, as they call'd them : He was so mov'd with Pity and Compassion, he says, for the vast Multitudes of innocent People, whose Destruction he saw was resolv'd on, that he had much ado to dissemble it, and shun discovering, that he was neither in the Secret, nor for the Thing.

Cabrera tells us, that he thus began his first Discourse to the Nobility, to engage them to take Arms ; “ The Subject I am now to speak on is such, that I own I cannot do it without Tears.” And at the famous parting with his Friends, when he left the Country, upon his perceiving that nothing was to be done with them, Count *Egmont*, a vain-glorious Man [*homo ad vanitatem superbus*] says

Thuanus, talk'd roughly, and rally'd him ; yet the Prince of *Orange* parted in Tears, says *Strada* ; telling the other, that what he call'd the King's Clemency would be his Ruin ; for they would first make him the Bridge or Tool, by which to come at the enslaving of the Country, and then make a Trophy of his Head. Farewel, Prince, without Estate [*sans terre*] said *Egmont*, rallying ; but Farewel, Count, without a Head [*sans tete*] said the Prince, weeping. Vastly indeed, and every way different Characters of Men !

I pity the Provinces, said he to those about him, when he was shot in the Head at *Antwerp*, and thought himself expiring [*quasi moriturus*] says *Thuanus*. Have pity, says he himself, in one of his Discourses, to the States, on so many Widows and Orphans : And, *Lord, Pity the People*, says he now, when he was to say no more. Nay, his Friends agree, that it was the lamentable Accounts that were sent to him, in *Germany*, from *Flanders* (sent on Design with all the moving Circumstances, by those that knew what would work upon him) that at last determin'd him to engage in the War : And he himself takes God to witness of the Truth of this ; for the Project succeeded, tho' he was not privy to it. " I protest, says he, " before God, that I took not Arms upon
" private

“ private Views, but merely out of Pity and
 “ Compassion to the poor People.”

The Truth of the Matter is : Count *Egmont*, and the other Nobility, who were the Governors of the ten Provinces, and had all the Military Men, and strong Towns in their Hands, and great Power and Credit with the People ; Prince *William's* Interest lying elsewhere, in *Burgundy, Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht* ; of which four he was Governor, and Hereditary Burgrave of *Antwerp* ; and the Towns of *Breda, &c.* were his own : Count *Egmont*, I say, and the *Flemish* Nobility having refus'd to join with him, and oppose the Entry of the Duke of *Alva* with the *Spanish* Troops, which he press'd them earnestly to do ; and for doing of which they had the Laws and Privileges of the Country expressly for them : He look'd upon any Opposition to be made, after that the Duke should take Possession, and have those very Noblemen with the Troops, and all the strong Towns and Power of the Country in his Hands, to be not only then desperate Work (as it prov'd at last) but in such Circumstances foolish and ridiculous, and hardly justifiable : For a Man is not to do violence to his Country, and force them to be sav'd whether they will or not ; no more than to force Remedies down a sick Father's Throat, unless he be in a Frenzy ;
 which

which may be the Case of a Country too. And therefore he, to save his Person and Family, retir'd to *Dillemburg*, the Place of his Birth, where the *German* Estate lay, his own Patri-mony of *Nassau* ; but then belonging to his younger Brother, Count *John*, to whom he had generously given it (you'll find, if I go on, all Virtues in this Prince) when the much larger Estates of the Families of *Orange* and *Chalons* fell to him ; but all which (except the Territory of *Orange*, an inconsiderable part that lay in *France*) together with a great Estate of the *Nassau* Inheritance, in the *Low-Countries*, lying in the Dominions of *Philip*, he entirely lost ; and became a poor Refugee, living upon his Brother's Gratitude and Friendship ; but who acted, in more Senses than one, rather like a Father, than a Brother : For he not only mortgag'd what he had got from the Prince, but all he had in the World besides, upon his account ; engaging himself and other three Brothers, with, I think, four Sons, like one Man. Such was the Harmony and Union among them (for which, and other Reasons that are obvious, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, reckon'd one of the wisest Men of that Age, compar'd them to the *Maccabee* Brothers :) *John*, I say, engag'd them all in so desperate a Quarrel ; in which most of them, viz. all the three Brothers, and several of

of the Sons dy'd: Men (particularly *Lodovick*, who was the Prince's right Hand, as Admiral *Coligni* us'd to call *Dandelot*) of distinguish'd Characters, who signaliz'd themselves both by their Duty and Service to their Country, and their Love and Deference to him their Head. Who can sufficiently admire the singular Lot and Felicity of the Countess (by Birth) of *Stolburg*, the Mother of this Prince, and of his four Brothers, otherwise too, and it seems every way, an extraordinary Woman? She, in 1578, six Years before this Prince's Death, saw living One hundred and twenty three Counts descended of her, and 'tis like saw many more before she dy'd; for she liv'd much longer, tho' she was then Seventy five Years old. You may judge of the rest of her Counts by those I have mention'd: 'Tis a pity that she and such Ladies (I should say Goddesses) cannot be kept young and immortal for Breed. Count *John*, whom I name again, (I can never do him Honour enough, though I have not time to give my Reasons) did more, says one, for his Brother the Refugee, as I have call'd him, than either *Charles* the Emperor did for his Ally, *Christiern* of *Denmark*; or *Charles* of *Burgundy* for his Ally, an *Edward* of *England*, when they were thrown out of their Kingdoms,

To

To proceed : 'Tis evident the Undertaking was as desperate, when the Prince engag'd in it, as he took it to be ; the Spirit of the *Flemmings* being broke by the Duke of *Alva's* Severity ; and the Protestants having, for the most part, fled : those that remain'd were *Roman* Catholicks, who had no Thoughts then of breaking with *Spain* ; so that neither Religion nor Liberty could move them. And indeed, until the Imposition of the Hundredth, Tenth, and Twentieth Pennies, there was not the least Appearance of a Disposition among the Inhabitants of the ten Provinces, to encourage any Man to act for them. And therefore, at his first coming into *Brabant* with an Army, in 1568, before that Tax was laid on, though he decamp'd twenty three times in one Summer, which gave them all Opportunities imaginable to join him ; and though they saw, for their Encouragement, that the Duke of *Alva* durst not fight him ; yet the Towns neither open'd their Gates to him, nor supply'd him with Money or Provisions ; which they might have done privately ; and the want of which oblig'd him to retire.

As for the *Dutch*, they were then of little consideration in comparison, the antient brave *Batarvi* being bury'd in a Peace, that, excepting Scuffles among themselves, had lasted
Eight

Eight hundred Years, says *Grotius* ; and having given themselves wholly to the Sea, were entirely ignorant of War by Land, which the *Flemmings*, particularly the *Walloons* that border'd upon *France*, and the *Spaniards*, were accustom'd to, and expert in; but were, indeed, as great Novices at Sea, as the other were at Land; as the Event shew'd : For in many Years War, the *Dutch* had but one Advantage by Land, and the *Spaniards* but one by Sea. Let no Man after this, and after what we have lately seen (be it said to the Honour of our General and Troops) talk of the Chance of War. 'Tis true, very little, an inconsiderable Accident, will lose a Battel ; the true Reason, no doubt, with that of the Importance of the Subject, why God is so emphatically call'd *the Lord of Hosts* ; for Men's Minds and Spirits, or Passions, are then in a great Agitation, and, as it were, on the Wing, or in the Ballance ; in a word, more than at any other time, in a Dependance upon, or, I should rather say, at the Mercy of Providence ; for, upon such Occasions, they have little time to think of it ; but however, cannot shun moments, more or fewer, for the Impressions or Apprehensions of Death, or, which sits heavier upon a brave Man's Spirit, of Concern for the Event : But 'tis as true, that the mighty Efficacy or Importance
of

of this *very little* proceeds ordinarily from something somewhere *very great* ; for with a Superiority of Wisdom, Conduct, Disposition, and Troops, Victory may be built upon a Rock, which we see no Accidents nor Incidents can shake.

Thus 'tis evident this Prince neither engag'd, nor went on at first, in the Undertaking, as he often declares, with any hopes of Success. How was it possible for him to have Hopes ? But he engag'd, because he could no longer resist his own Bowels (the Goodness and Tenderness of his Nature) put in motion by the artful Contrivance I have mention'd of those that knew him thoroughly ; and therefore resolve he must, as he did, and, as he tells the Diet in *Germany* he would, to throw himself away, and perish with his Country, the only way, in such cases, for an honest, brave Man, to save both himself and his Country from their common Enemies ; that is, to have a venture to do it ; in which there's no venture in one sense ; for he is sure either to succeed in delivering his Country, or to deliver himself, at least, from yet a greater Enemy, an uneasy and unquiet Mind, or a troublesome, disagreeable Life. Accordingly, he began inauspiciously, as you have heard, and which his Preparations for a War with the mighty Monarch, did presage,
or

or rather insure: These were, first, to borrow what Money he could; no great Sum you may imagine, for who could expect to be paid again? And then to sell all his Jewels, Plate, Tapestry, and other Furniture, which he had brought with him from his Houses at *Breda* and *Brussels*, &c. Rich Furniture indeed, says one, but of no value to make War with upon *Philip* [*digna regio palatio ornamenta, sed exigui ad bellum momenti.*] I must here beg pardon for losing my way, which my not publishing first his Life and Character, obliges me often to do: For you could not, without the Knowledge of the true State, both of his Mind and Circumstances, when he began the War, have understood many Particulars, that I am to inform you of, in the following Discourses.

Thus, upon the whole matter it appears, that this Prince was a Man of great Goodness of Nature, as well as of extraordinary Wisdom and Virtue; that the reigning Passion in him throughout the whole Course of his Life, was Love and Concern for his Country; that he was also a Man of a truly religious Disposition; that upon great and moving Occasions, it was usual for him to have recourse to God by Prayer; and that he was, in the Frame and Temper of his Spirit, a
tender

tender hearted; and compassionate Man, to such a degree, that often he could not conceal his Concern, but discover'd it by Tears. All which renders it evident and undeniable, that, upon the last and great Occasion he had to show himself, all was natural in him, nothing was new or unusual; he goes off the Stage, leaves the World, with the same Air and Spirit, or Disposition, with which he had acted in it; being *ever all things to all* [πάντα πᾶσι] as the Apostle speaks, viz. ready and zealous upon all Occasions to do what he could, less or more, for his Charge, the Subject of his Care, the poor People; exciting God by his Prayer, and Man too by his Example, to pity them and help them, now that he himself was going to leave them, and leave them in a deplorable Condition, and leave them for ever, was never again to serve them or see them. Thus he dissolv'd, he melted away indeed, in his last moment; but giving, as I have said, for I cannot say it too often, all the Proofs his Condition would allow him to give, of the same Virtue, and Vigour, and Presence of Mind, with which he had liv'd and acted: In a word, falling of course, without Thought or Reflection (which he had not time for) into the current and bent of the Secret of his Soul, which he had so much practis'd, that it was become a part of it,

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viz.

viz. at all times to suit, mould and accommodate himself, his Words and Actions to the Nature of the Services, the Occasions and Circumstances, or Demands of his Country upon him ; of which his whole Life was but one continu'd Proof, and his Death the Seal of that Proof, as will more fully appear.

In a word : His *Manner* at his Death is the same, and of a piece with what had been his *Manner* in his Life : And indeed what is not so, is but *Grimace* ; for Death is the *End* and the *Conclusion*, and not a Season to *commence* or *begin*. No : 'tis evident, his Concern at Death was not the Effect of any sudden or casual Emotion, but the necessary Consequence of his Life ; the genuine Issue of a Heart at all times full of Love for his Country, and which flow'd from it, as Waters do from a Fountain : so that *if he spoke at all, he must have spoke as he did*. It was not possible for him, upon so great an Occasion as his parting with them, and at a time when they needed him most, to have done otherwise. Such a Disposition was a fix'd and unalterable Habit of Mind ; was *Virtue become Nature* : Which the Instance I have given at his first Death, as I may say (when he was shot at *Antwerp*), for such it was in his own and all Men's Opinions, does alone put beyond Contradiction. Other Instances

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mention'd,

mention'd, and many more that may be added, show indeed the Situation and Temper of his Spirit, that he was ever full of Love and Concern for his Country : But these two only, at his real and presum'd Death, are plain Proofs of the wonderful Greatness and Presence of his Mind, as well as of the Goodness and Tenderness of it.

To sum all up, and conclude ; I repeat, and so leave the Matter with you : That it was not possible for him, for so great and so *honest* a Man as he was ; of such a Presence of Mind as he had ; of so good and so tender a Heart as he show'd ; of such a Temper as never to be disorder'd ; such a publick Spirit, as not to mind his own Things ; such warm Passions of Love and Zeal for his Country, as never to be cool or indifferent ; in a word, of so great a Soul, and so good a Heart and Life, as to be above himself and Death ; and for *him*, a Man, who had liv'd so many Years in the daily Practice and Exercise of all those, and the other highest and sublimest Virtues and Passions ; for which the great Work he was engag'd in, furnish'd him constant Opportunities : So that such Dispositions were become natural to him ; were absolutely his own, and at his Command.

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It was not possible, I say, for one, whom God, and himself, and Business, had so made and moulded or fram'd, to have been otherwise affected, upon so great an Occasion, as his parting with his Country, that was to him as his own Soul; his Country, the *Center*, where all his Virtues, Purposes, Passions, Labours, Affections, and Tender-nesses did terminate or meet; and *parting* with them, when they wanted him most; *leaving* them Objects indeed of Pity; which it appears lay next to his Heart; nay, pierc'd him, kill'd him, I may say, at the Moment of Death: *Leaving* them Widows and Orphans, as he usually, in his Meltings or Tendernesses, call'd them, and foretold them, they were to be, in yet a more moving and lamentable Sense than the literal one. I say again, it was not possible for such a Man, so dispos'd, and so stated, to do otherwise than he did; or speak, if he spoke at all, but what he said.

HERE I was to have ended, but that I cannot hold.

Happy Prince after all! who having, in his Lifetime, done more for his Country, than ever mortal Man did for any Country; had now, at his Death, now, at parting, the Glory not to part; but, as it were, to faint, and die away in the Embraces of it! And for the Top, the full Complement of humane or mortal Felicity, by his Death, he finish'd the Work of his Life. For his Country was sav'd by that very Death,
(as

(as will appear) upon which they, in their own and all Men's Opinion, were given for lost. And by the same Death too, he settled, rivetted, perfected his own Character; rais'd it high above Malice, and Calumny, and Envy, and indeed above all modern Characters; nay, rais'd it up to those of the most famous Hero's of Antiquity.

And which still adds to his Felicity, all that so great Felicity was capable of having added to it; he left behind him a Posterity qualify'd to carry on, as they did, the Building,

upon the Foundation he had laid ; a Building, that, under their Administration, or Influence and Conduct, rose to be the Subject of Envy and Wonder to the old and new Worlds. And he left too, his Character and Memory engraven upon the Hearts of a grateful People, such faithful Guardians of them, and of the Sense of their Obligations to him, that they have transmitted the same down to their Posterity so fresh, to this very Day, that, generally, they cannot speak of his Death, without Tears ; which the
Writer

Writer himself has often been Witness to. Nay, the States, long after, upon a solemn Occasion, gave a memorable Instance of their Sense of what they ow'd him : I may say, rais'd a Monument (exceeding, in many respects, the famous one at *Delft*) of unparall'd Glory to his Memory, and of lasting, as well as singular and unusual, Honour to their own.

Happy Life ! tho' one continu'd Scene of Adversity. Glorious Death ! *any Death*, that, with such a Life, could do all this ! Nay, was it possible for him, by

any other manner of Death, to have dy'd so great as he did? The *Spaniards* Part in it was indeed barbarous; but his own was Angelical, I should say Evangelical; and Heaven's Part, like itself, divine and gracious; that is, calculated for those kind and noble Purposes I have mention'd, *viz.* in favour of the only two Concerns he had (and all good Men should have) at Heart, his Country and his Reputation.

Whence then the Horror, the mingling of our Flesh and our Blood, the revolting of our Spirits
against

against Providence, when we think on his being assassinated? No : in Heaven, and in him, in his Lot, his Life, and his Death, all was great and glorious : It is we Spectators, that are little and narrow, being neither trusted with the Secrets of Providence, nor adverting to the Events that reveal them.

His constant and solemn Prayer to God Almighty, had all along been, as he himself tells us, in his famous Apology, “ That if
 “ he did not act honestly,
 “ or upon a true Principle
 “ of Love and Duty to his
 “ Country,

“ Country, in his Endeavours to save them, God
 “ would punish him even
 “ in this Life with Infamy,
 “ &c. But that, if he acted
 “ honestly, he pray’d that
 “ God would, before his
 “ Death, give him an Opportunity to lay open the
 “ true State of his Heart
 “ to the Conviction of Mankind ; and so, to vindicate himself, and his Memory, from the Aspersions, which the Envy of Friends, and the Malice of Enemies, had thrown upon him, and it.” Which were, in a word, that Ambition, and not Love to his Country,

Country, had been the Spring of all his Actions; the single Objection, and built upon one single Proof, (which will appear to be no Proof) that ever was made to his Character; and which is an Objection to the Heart, the unsearchable Part, that is neither to be attack'd nor defended, but upon Overt-acts, and these too usually doubtful or equivocal.

God graciously hears his Prayer, gives him the greatest of all Opportunities to vindicate himself; one Minute of Opportunity, the least equivocal, because

cause the most sincere of all Minutes ; and gives him too, in that single Minute, the Soul to lay hold on it. More Minutes would not have done so well ; would have left room for Vain-glory or Affectation, and Grimace ; which we see Men often as capable of at their Deaths, as in their Lives ; but then, such were their Lives : Whereas his whole Life was but one continued Proof of his Sincerity at his Death ; and the Minute was Time, and but Time for Nature.

What shall I say ? He was, as we are all, to die
however,

however, to die one way or other. But can the Heart of Man devise such another Opportunity for discovering itself ; such another Manner of dying as his and Heaven's Part in this very Death were ; so nicely suited and calculated for his Vindication and Honour, as he was stated ; for supplying, indeed, the All ; and the only thing that was wanting to brighten his Memory and Character ; to outshine those Spots, which Malice and Envy hop'd they had discover'd in this Sun of Characters ; and consequently, a more unquestionable

tionable, concluding Proof of the Favour of Heaven to a faithful Servant at his going off the Stage?

An eminent Favourite after all ! From his Cradle to his Grave ; could we have Thoughts equal to Things.

Eminent and Favourite too ! throughout the whole Course of an uneasy, laborious, perplex'd, and, for the most part, mortifying and losing, nay often, in appearance, forlorn or abandon'd ; but still for ever, and to all Generations, *glorious Life* ; and in a *Death*, in appearance too, the Effect of Enmity and Wrath, or, at least,
of

of Displeasure and Disgrace ; but, indeed, not only, on his part, equally *glorious* with his Life, as is evident ; but on Heaven's part also, equally *gracious* ; as the Event, the great Publisher of Secrets, shew'd.

To have done ; a Death every way of a piece with his Life ! Such a Life ! such a Death ! Who would not chuse to live and die so ? For [*sic itur ad astra*] so God giveth his Beloved Sleep ! *Adversity*, all agree, is the Scene of great *Virtue*.

F I N I S.



